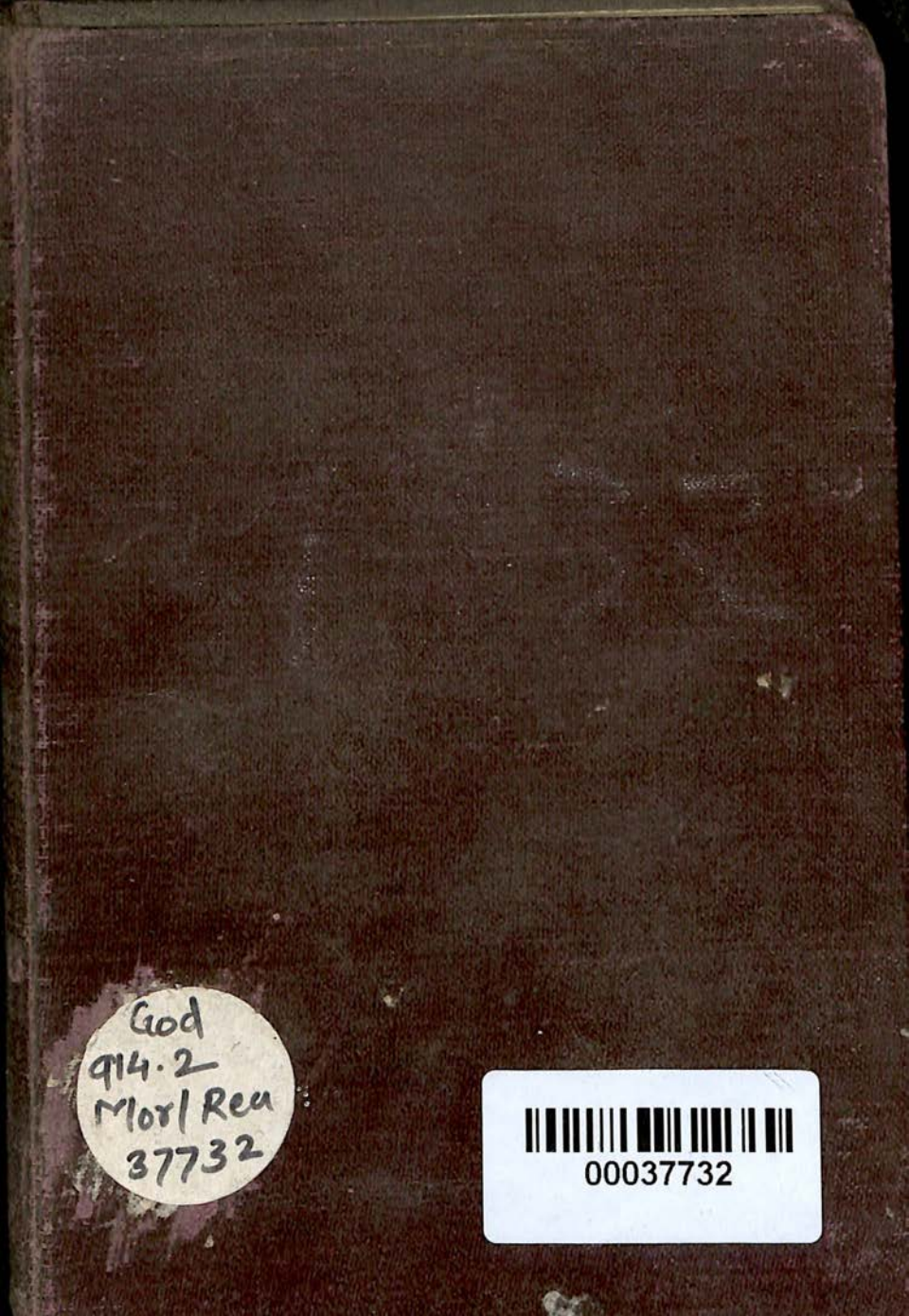
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READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

VOLUME ONE

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER
LONDON : FETTER LANE, E.C.4

NEW YORK : THE MACMILLAN CO.
BOMBAY
CALCUTTA } MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.
MADRAS
TORONTO : THE MACMILLAN CO.
OF CANADA, LTD.
TOKYO : MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

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READINGS
IN
ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY
FROM
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

1896

VOLUME ONE

FROM PRE-ROMAN DAYS TO A.D. 1272

EDITED BY

R. B. MORGAN, M.LITT.

INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS TO THE CROYDON EDUCATION COMMITTEE
AUTHOR OF *A New English Grammar*, ETC.

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CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1921

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Printed in Great Britain
by Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh

TO

MY MOTHER

PREFACE

IT is a truism that every great political upheaval is followed by a keener and livelier interest on the part of statesmen and the people generally in the social and industrial questions, that, phœnix-like, arise and demand settlement.

The upheaval caused by the war has focussed the attention of the country upon the necessity for improving the social conditions of the people; and for many years to come legislation in the main will have to deal with the betterment of the conditions of life in its broadest and fullest aspect.

A glimpse at the social conditions of the inhabitants of this country in the past will be a help towards the better understanding of what has gone to make "this little world . . . set in the silver sea" the cradle of a race of shopkeepers (as Napoleon dubbed us), and warriors, as we have proved ourselves to be.

In these little volumes the editor has endeavoured to select from contemporary writers pen-pictures of the country and its inhabitants throughout the centuries: their mode of life; their food and clothing; their games and recreations; their feastings and their burials; their methods of fighting on land and sea; their laws and customs; their education; their instinct for trade; their pageants and their music; their joys and their sorrows; in fact, all that goes to make what we call "life."

In order to tempt his readers to explore for themselves the sources from which the extracts are taken, the editor has, where possible, chosen his selections from such editions of authorities as can be found in any modern reference

library, and to that end, the source of each extract is defined in detail. In this connection the editor is under a debt of gratitude to Mr G. Berwick Sayers, the chief librarian of Croydon's splendidly equipped public library, for his expert advice and assistance; and to him and his staff sincere thanks are due.

To Mr Walter Blackie, at whose suggestion the work was, in the first place, undertaken, the editor offers his thanks.

The illustrations have been selected by Mr S. C. Roberts, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, to whom the editor is greatly indebted for his generous co-operation.

R. B. M.

10 Wellesley Grove
Croydon
November 1920

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The Delegates of the Clarendon Press (Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 54).

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ROMAN STREET, CILURNUM

Cilurnum (The Chesters), in the county of Durham, was one of the principal camps on the line of the great Roman wall from the Tyne to the Solway begun by the emperor Hadrian about A.D. 120. Enough of the Roman work remains at Cilurnum to show the grouping of the main buildings. Down the middle of the street may be noted the gutter for carrying away the rain.

Photographs by J. P. Gibson, Hexham.

ERMINE STREET 13

This was the great Roman road running north from London. The photograph is of a portion of what is now known as the Great North Road and is taken just north of Lincoln.

Photograph by S. Smith, Lincoln.

ORNAMENTS OF THE VIKING PERIOD 30

This plate shows examples of the brooch—the most characteristic ornament of the Viking period—and the neck-ring. The brooches were generally bronze, with silver knobs, and are found in various shapes—oval, round, and tri-lobed; pendants were commonly attached to the neck-rings as charms against evil fortune.

From S. Müller, *Nordische Altertümskunde*, reproduced in A. Mawer, *The Vikings*.

PART OF THE *Orkneyinga Saga* 31

This saga recounts the history of the Orkneys from the first coming of the Norsemen down to the middle of the 12th century. It was probably written in Iceland about 1200 and the portion shown is from the copy in the Flatey-book in the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

From W. A. Craigie, *Icelandic Sagas*.

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This is the oldest part of the church built by Benedict Biscop, the lower portion of the tower being his original work, while the upper part belongs to the 11th century. The whole tower shows the characteristic belfry-openings and "long and short" work of the Saxon period of architecture.

At the time of its first building (A.D. 674) it was, no doubt, as Sir Thomas Jackson says, "the wonder of the age in England."

Photograph by Valentine & Sons.

OLD ENGLISH PLOUGHMEN 35

This shows a portion of a calendar prefixed to an 11th century hymn-book. An illustration is given for each month, showing the various occupations of the people throughout the year.

British Museum, MS. Cott. Jul. A. vi.

PORTION OF DOMESDAY BOOK 60

This page of the great survey deals with Oxfordshire. The following is a translation of the first six lines :—

"In the time of King Edward Oxford paid to the king for toll and rent and all other customs 20 pounds and 6 pints of honey per annum ; and to Count Algar 10 pounds, there being added a mill which he held below the city. When the king went to war, 20 citizens went with him on behalf of all the rest or gave 20 pounds to the king, so that all might be free."

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ST JOHN'S CHAPEL IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

The White Tower, the oldest part of the fortress of the Tower of London, was planned by William I. and built by Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester in 1078. It is one of the best preserved Norman keeps. The Chapel in the Tower, with its plain, massive pillars and semi-circular arches, is similarly one of the best examples of early Norman church architecture.

Photographs by Valentine & Sons and Frith & Co.

"ELY'S HIGH TOWERS THE WIDE CHAMPAIGN COMMAND" 72

The nave and the lower part of the towers of Ely Cathedral are among the finest examples of early Norman work. From early days Ely was "isolated and inaccessible" and "afforded quiet for study and contemplation, and a sanctuary where the hunted could easily elude their pursuers."

Photograph by Frith & Co.

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A MEDIEVAL SIEGE 73

This illustration, which is taken from Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire de l'architecture*, shows the devices employed in besieging a fortified garrison. The castle is surrounded by a moat, from the other side of which the attack is being made by means of penthouses, catapults, and the "lofty towers" mentioned in the text.

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The three illustrations shown occur in a 14th century MS. The first shows a medieval form of the Greek pastime Hippas, a kind of amusement not unknown to-day. One man sat upon the shoulders of another, as upon a horse, and the prize went to the competitor who first pulled his opponent to the ground. The second is of a wrestling-match for which the prize is a cock. The wrestling is with the open hand which grasps either the body of the opponent or a loose scarf worn for the purpose. The third is of a tilting-match on the water.

British Museum MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.

THE CELLARIUM, FOUNTAINS ABBEY 87

The Cellarium at Fountains is exceptionally well preserved. It forms part of the buildings on the west side of the cloister and is divided by columns into two alleys.

From A. Hamilton Thompson, *English Monasteries*.

KING AND JESTER 106

This shows a portion of a 15th century MS. of the 14th psalm (The fool hath said in his heart . . .). The artist has taken the opportunity to insert in the initial D a picture of a king with his jester.

British Museum MS. Harl. 1892.

THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY III. 107

This is from the MS. of the *History* of Matthew Paris. At the foot of the page the author has added a picture of the marriage ceremony between Henry III. and Isabella.

British Museum MS. Roy. 14 c. 7.

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

BRITAIN BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

1. THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS IN PRE-ROMAN DAYS

(*a*) SOURCE: Strabo, *Geography*, III, II (quoted in Sharpe's *Britain B.C.*)

THE greatest part of the island is level and woody, although many tracts are hilly. It produces corn, cattle, and gold and silver, and iron, which things are brought thence, and also skins and slaves, and dogs sagacious in hunting; and the Celti use these for the purposes of war also, as well as their native dogs. The men are taller than the Celti, with hair less yellow; and slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height, we ourselves saw at Rome some youths who were taller by so much as half a foot than the tallest there; but they were distorted in their lower limbs, and in other respects not symmetrical in their confirmation. Their manners are in part like those of the Celti, though in part more simple and barbarous; insomuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not skill enough to make cheese, and are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. There are several states amongst them. In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Celti. Forests are their cities; for having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts, and lodge their

cattle, though not for any long continuance. Their atmosphere is more subject to rain than to snow; even in their clear days the mist continues a considerable time, insomuch that throughout the whole day the sun is only visible for three or four hours about noon time. . . . Tin is not found upon the surface as authors commonly relate, but [they say] that it is dug up, and that it is produced both in places among the barbarians who dwell beyond the Lusitanians and in the islands Cassiterides, and that from the Britannic Islands it is carried to Marseilles. Amongst the Artabri, who are the last of the Lusitanians towards the north and west, [they say] that the earth is powdered with silver tin and white gold, that is, mixed with silver, the earth having been brought down by the rivers; this the women scrape up with spades, and wash in sieves, woven after the fashion of baskets. . . .

The Cassiterides [1] are ten in number, and lie near each other in the ocean, towards the north from the haven of the Artabri. One of them is desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, girt about the breast and walking with staves, thus resembling the Furies we see in tragic representations. They subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life. Of the metals they have tin and lead, which with skins they barter with the merchants for earthenware, salt, and brazen vessels. Formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic from Gades, concealing the passage from every one, and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster, that they also might find the market, the shipmaster of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, leading on these to follow him into the same destructive disaster. He himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received

[1] The Cassiterides, or "Tin Islands," are mentioned by Herodotus. It was there that the Carthaginian merchants bartered their wares for tin. The islands have been identified with the Scilly Isles and with Cornwall, though other authorities regard them as the little islands about Vigo Bay off the Spanish coast.

from the state the value of the cargo he had lost. The Romans, nevertheless, by frequent efforts discovered the passage, and as soon as Publius Crassus, passing over to them, perceived that the metals were dug out at a little depth, and that the men were peaceably disposed, he declared it to those who already wished to traffic in this sea for profit, although the passage was longer than to Britain.

(*b*) SOURCE: *Diodorus Siculus*, V, III (Sharpe).

The inhabitants are the original people thereof, and live to this time after their own ancient manner and custom, for in fights they use chariots, as it is said the old Grecian heroes did in the Trojan war. They dwell in mean cottages, covered for the most part with reeds or sticks. In reaping of their corn, they cut off the ears from the stalk, and so house them up in repositories underground, thence they take and pluck out the grains of as many of the oldest of them as may serve them for a day, and, after they have bruised the corn, make it into bread. They are of much sincerity and integrity, far from the craft and knavery of men amongst us, contented with plain and homely fare, strangers to the excess and luxury of rich men. The island is very populous, but of a cold climate, subject to frosts, being under the arctic pole. They are governed by several kings and princes, who, for the most part, are at peace and amity one with another. . . .

Now we shall speak something of the tin that is dug and gotten there. They that inhabit the British promontory Balerium, by reason of their converse with merchants, are more civilised and courteous to strangers than the rest are. These are the people that make the tin, which with a great deal of care and labour they dig out of the ground, and that being rocky, the metal is mixed with some veins of earth, out of which they melt the metal, and then refine it, then they beat it into four-square pieces, like a die, and carry it

to a British isle near at hand called Ictis. For at low tide, all being dry between them and the island, they convey over in carts abundance of tin in the meantime. But there is one thing peculiar to these islands which lie between Britain and Europe, for at full sea they appear to be islands, but at low water for a long way they look like so many peninsulas. Hence the merchants transport the tin they buy of the inhabitants to France, and for thirty days' journey they carry it in packs upon horses' backs through France to the mouth of the river Rhone. . . . In their journeys and fights they use chariots drawn by two horses, which carry a charioteer and a soldier, and when they meet horsemen in the battle, they fall upon their enemies with their saurians,[1] then quitting their chariots, they to it with their swords. There are some of them so despise death, that they will fight naked, with something only about their loins.

BRITAIN UNDER ROMAN RULE

2. CÆSAR'S DESIRE TO LEARN ABOUT BRITAIN [55 B.C.]

SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, IV, 20, from the translation by Dr. T. Rice Holmes.

Cæsar made active preparations for an expedition to Britain; for he knew that in almost all the operations in Gaul our enemies had been reinforced from that country. Besides, if there were not time for a campaign, he thought that it would be well worth his while merely to visit the island, see what the people were like, and make himself acquainted with the features of the country, the harbours, and the landing-places; for of all this the Gauls knew practically nothing. No one, indeed, readily undertakes the voyage to Britain except traders; and even they know

[1] A kind of dart.

nothing of it except the coast and the parts opposite the different regions of Gaul. Accordingly, though Cæsar summoned traders from all parts to meet him, he could not ascertain the extent of the island, what tribes dwelt therein, their strength, their method of fighting, their manners and customs, or what harbours were capable of accommodating a large flotilla.

3. CÆSAR'S DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN AND ITS INHABITANTS [58 B.C.]

SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, V, 12 (Rice Holmes).

The island is triangular in shape, one side being opposite Gaul. One corner of this side, by Kent—the landing-place for almost all ships from Gaul—has an easterly, and the lower one a southerly aspect. The extent of this side is about five hundred miles. The second trends westward towards Spain; off the coast here is Ireland, which is considered only half as large as Britain, though the passage is equal in length to that between Britain and Gaul. Halfway across is an island called Man; and several smaller islands also are believed to be situated opposite this coast, in which, according to some writers, there is continuous night, about the winter solstice, for thirty days. Our inquiries could elicit no information on the subject, but by accurate measurements with a water-clock we could see that the nights were shorter than on the continent. The length of the side, according to the estimate of the natives, is seven hundred miles. The third side has a northerly aspect, and no land lies opposite it; its corner however, looks, if anything, in the direction of Germany. The length of this side is estimated at eight hundred miles. Thus the whole island is two thousand miles in circumference.

The interior of Britain is inhabited by a people who, according to oral tradition—so the Britains themselves say

—are aboriginal; the maritime districts by immigrants who crossed over from Belgium to plunder and attack the aborigines, almost all of them being called after the tribes from whom the first-comers were an offshoot. When the war was over they remained in the country and settled down as tillers of the soil. The population is immense; homesteads, closely resembling those of the Gaul, are met with at every turn; and cattle are very numerous. Gold coins are in use or, instead of coins, iron bars of fixed weight. Tin is found in the country in the island, and iron in the maritime districts, but the latter only in small quantities; bronze is imported. Trees exist of all the varieties which occur in Gaul, except the beech and the fir. Hares, fowls, and geese they think it impious to taste; but they keep them for pastime or amusement. The climate is more equable than in Gaul, the cold being less severe.

By far the most civilised of all the natives are the inhabitants of Kent—a purely maritime district—whose culture does not differ much from that of the Gauls. The people of the interior do not, for the most part, cultivate grain, but live on milk and flesh-meat, and clothe themselves with skins. All the Britains, without exception, stain themselves with woad, which produces a bluish tint; and this gives them a wild look in battle. They wear their hair long, and shave the whole of their body except the head and the upper lip.

4. HOW THE EARLY BRITONS FOUGHT [55 B.C.]

SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, IV, 32 (Rice Holmes).

Chariots are used in action in the following way. First of all, the charioteers drive all over the field, the warriors hurling missiles; and generally they throw the enemy's ranks into confusion by the mere terror inspired by their

horses and the clatter of the wheels. As soon as they have penetrated between the troops of cavalry, the warriors jump off the chariots and fight on foot. The drivers meanwhile gradually withdraw from the action, and range the cars in such a position that, if the warriors are hard pressed by the enemy's numbers, they may easily get back to them. Thus they exhibit in action the mobility of cavalry combined with the steadiness of infantry; and they become so efficient from constant practice and training that they will drive their horses at full gallop, keeping them well in hand, down a steep incline, check and turn them in an instant, run along the pole, stand on the yoke, and step backwards again to the cars with the greatest nimbleness.

5. THE PEOPLES OF BRITAIN AND GAUL COMPARED
[*circa* A.D. 78]

SOURCE: Tacitus, *Agricola*, II, from the translation by Prof. Maurice Hutton (Loeb Classical Library).

. . . What race of mortal birth inhabited Britain originally whether native to the soil or later comers, is a question which, as one would expect among barbarous people, has never received attention. The physique of the people presents many varieties, whence inferences are drawn: the red hair and the large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia proclaim their German origin; the swarthy faces of the Silures, the curly quality, in general, of their hair, and the position of Spain opposite these shores, attest the passage of Iberians in old days, and the occupation by them of these districts; these people again, who adjoin Gaul are also like Gauls, whether because the influence of heredity persists, or because where two lands converge till they face each other the climatic conditions stamp a certain physique on the human body; but, taking a broad view of the case, we can readily believe that the Gauls took possession of the adjacent island. You

will surprise these celebrations of Gallic ceremonies, and faith in Gallic superstitions; the language is not very different; but the Britons display a higher spirit, not having been emasculated by long years of peace. 'The Gauls also, according to history, once shone in war; afterwards indolence made its appearance, hand in hand with peace, and courage and liberty have been lost together. This has happened to such of the Britons as were conquered long ago: the rest remain what the Gauls once were.'

Their strength lies in their infantry; but certain tribes also fight from chariots: the driver has the place of honour, the combatants are mere retainers. Originally the people were subject to kings: now they are distracted with parties and party spirit through the influence of chieftains; nor indeed have we any weapon against the stronger races more effective than this, that they have no common purpose: rarely will two or three states confer to repulse a common danger; accordingly they fight individually and are collectively conquered. The sky is overcast with continual rain and cloud, but the cold is not severe. The duration of daylight is beyond the measure of our zone: the nights are clear and, in the distant parts of Britain, short, so that there is but a brief space separating the evening and the morning twilight. If there be no clouds to hinder, the sun's brilliance —they maintain—is visible throughout the night: it neither sets nor rises, but simply passes over. . . .

The soil, except for the olive and the vine, and the other fruits usual in warmer lands, permits, and is even prolific of crops: they ripen slowly, but are quick to sprout—in each case for the same reason, the abundant moisture of the soil and sky. Britain produces gold and silver and other metals: conquest is worth while. The sea also produces pearls, but somewhat clouded and leaden-hued. Some people suppose that their pearl-fishers lack skill; in the Red Sea we are to imagine them torn alive and still breathing from the shell,

while in Britain they are gathered only when thrown up on shore. . . .

As for the people themselves, they discharge energetically the levies and tribute and imperial obligations imposed upon them, provided always there be no wrong-doing. They are restive under wrong; for their subjection, while complete enough to involve obedience, does not involve slavery.

6. THE DRUIDS [*circa* 53 B.C.]

(*a*) SOURCE: Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, VI, 13 (Rice Holmes).

The former, [*i.e.* the Druids], officiate at the worship of the gods, regulate sacrifices, private as well as public, and expound questions of religion. Young men resort to them in large numbers for study, and the people hold them in great respect. They are judges in nearly all disputes, whether between tribes or individuals; and when a crime is committed, when a murder takes place, when a dispute arises about inherited property or boundaries, they settle the matter and fix the awards and fines. If any litigant, whether an individual or a tribe, does not abide by their decision, they excommunicate the offender—the heaviest punishment which they can inflict. Persons who are under such a sentence are looked upon as impious monsters: everybody avoids them, everybody shuns their approach and conversation for fear of incurring pollution; if they appear as plaintiffs, they are denied justice; nor have they any share in the offices of the state. The Druids are all under one head, who commands the highest respect among the order. On his death, if any of the rest is of higher standing than his fellows, he takes the vacant place; if there are several on an equality, the question of supremacy is decided by the votes of the Druids, and sometimes actually by force of arms. The Druids hold an annual session on a settled date at a hallowed spot. . . . All litigants assemble here from all parts and

abide by their decisions and awards. Their doctrine is believed to have been found existing in Britain, and thence to have been imported into Gaul; and nowadays most people who wish to acquire a thorough knowledge of it go there to study.

The Druids, as a rule, take no part in war, and do not pay taxes conjointly with other people: they enjoy exemption from military service, and immunity from all burdens. Attracted by these great privileges, many persons voluntarily come to learn from them, while many are sent by their parents and relatives. During their novitiate, it is said that they learn by heart a great number of verses; and accordingly some remain twenty years in a state of pupilage. It is against the principles of the Druids to commit their doctrines to writing, though, for most other purposes, such as public and private documents, they use Greek characters. Their motive, I take it, is twofold: they are unwilling to allow their doctrines to become common property, or their disciples to trust to documents and neglect to cultivate their memories; for most people find that, if they rely upon documents, they become less diligent in study and their memory is weakened. The doctrine which they are most earnest in inculcating, is that the soul does not perish, but that after death it passes from one body to another. This belief they regard as a powerful incentive to valour, as it inspires contempt for death. They also hold long discussions about the heavenly bodies and their motions, the size of the universe and of the earth, the origin of all things, the power of the gods and the limits of their dominion, and instruct their young scholars accordingly.

(*b*) SOURCE: *Diodorus Siculus*, V, XXXI, from the translation in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, by Petrie and Sharpe.

And there are among them composers of verses whom they call bards; these, singing to instruments similar to

lyres, applaud some while they vituperate others. There are also certain philosophers and priests surpassingly esteemed, whom they call Druids. They have also soothsayers, who are held in high estimation; and these by auguries and the sacrifice of victims foretell future events, and hold the commonalty in complete subjection; and more especially, when they deliberate on matters of moment. They practise a strange and incredible rite; for having devoted a man for sacrifice, they strike him with a sword on a part above the diaphragm; the victim having fallen, they augur from his mode of falling, the contortion of his limbs, and the flowing of the blood, what may come to pass; giving credence concerning such things to an ancient and long-standing observance. They have a custom of performing no sacrifice unattended by a philosopher. For they say that thanksgiving should be offered to the gods by men acquainted with the divine nature and using the same language, and by these they deem it necessary to ask for good things; and not only in the causes of peace but even of war, not friends alone, but even enemies also, chiefs defer to them and to the composers of verses. Frequently during hostilities, when armies are approaching each other with swords drawn and lances extended, these men, rushing between them put an end to their contention, taming them as they tame wild beasts.

(c) SOURCE: Strabo, *Geography*, IV (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*).

The bards are chanters and poets. The soothsayers are sacrificers and physiologists. The Druids in addition to physiology practise ethic philosophy. They are deemed to be most upright, and in consequence, to them are committed both public and private controversies, insomuch that on some occasions they decide on battles, and stop the combatants on the eve of engaging. Matters pertaining to

murder are more especially entrusted to their decision, and when profit accrues from these, they think fertility will attend the country. These and others say that souls are immortal, and that the world is so too; yet that ultimately fire and water will prevail. To their simplicity and ferocity are superadded much stupidity, vain boasting, and love of ornament. They wear gold, having collars thereof on their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists, and dignified persons are clad in dyed garments embroidered with gold.

Having stricken the man destined for sacrifice on the back with a sword, they augur from the palpitation. They never sacrifice without the Druids. Other kinds of human immolation are spoken of; some victims they slay with arrows, or crucify for their offerings; and having prepared a colossus of hay, and thrown wood upon it, they burn together oxen, all sorts of wild beasts and men.

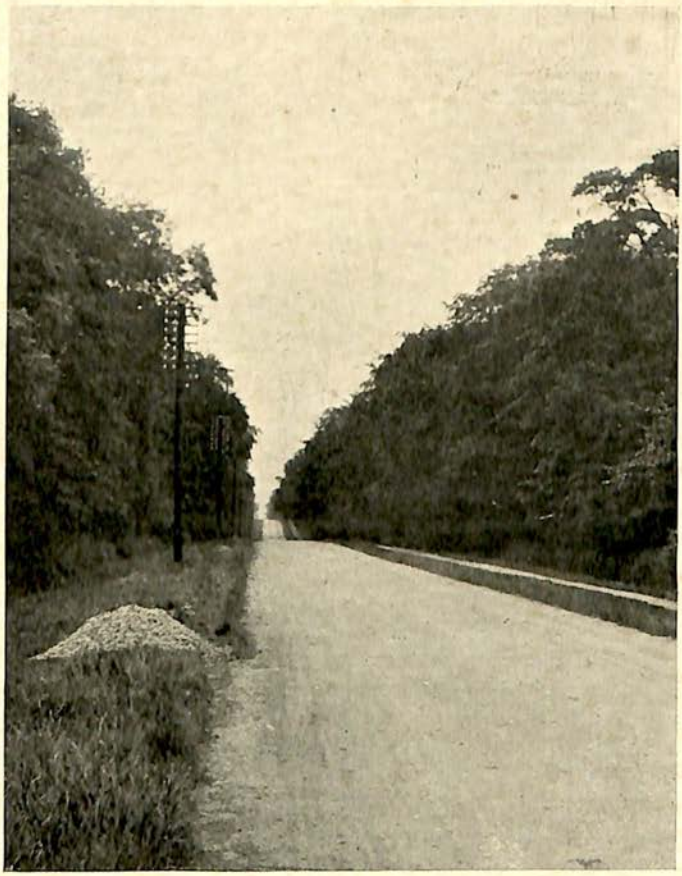
7. THE INFLUENCE OF ROME ON BRITAIN [A.D. 84]

SOURCE: Tacitus, *Agricola*, XXI (Hutton).

In order that a population scattered and uncivilised, and proportionately ready for war, might be habituated by comfort to peace and quiet, he [Agricola] would exhort individuals, assist communities to erect temples, market places, houses: he praised the energetic, rebuked the indolent, and the rivalry for his compliments took the place of coercion. Moreover, he began to train the sons of the chieftains to a liberal education, and to give a preference to the native talents of the Briton as against the plodding Gaul. As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric: further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion, and little by little the Britons were seduced into alluring vices: to the lounge, the bath, the well appointed dinner-

The Forum, Cilurnum

Roman Street, Cilurnum



Ermine Street

table. The simple natives gave the name of "culture" to this factor of their slavery.

8. THE FOUR GREAT ROMAN ROADS (*circa* A.D. 100)

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, V, from the translation by T. Forester.

So important was the safety of Britain to its loyal people that, under royal authority, they constructed four great highways from one end of the island to the other, as military roads, by which they might meet any hostile invasion. The first runs from west to east and is called Ichenild. The second runs from south to north and is called Erninge Strate [or Ermeninge Street]. The third crosses the island from Dover to Chester in a direction from south-east to north-west, and is called Watling Street. The fourth, which is longer than the others, commences at Caithness, and terminates in Totness, extending from the borders of Cornwall to the extremity of Scotland; this road runs diagonally from south-west to north-east, passing by Lincoln, and is called the Foss-way. These are the four principal highways of Britain, which are noble and useful works, founded by the edicts of kings and maintained by venerable laws.

BRITAIN UNDER SAXON RULE

9. THE ANCESTORS OF THE FIRST ANGLO-SAXONS

SOURCE: Tacitus, *Germania*, IV *et seq.* (Hutton).

Personally I associate myself with the opinion of those who hold that in the people of Germany there has been given to the world a race untainted by intermarriage with other races, a peculiar people and pure, like no one but themselves; whence it comes that their physique, in spite of their vast numbers, is identical: fierce blue eyes, red hair, tall forms,

powerful only spasmodically, and impatient at the same time, of labour and hard work, and by no means habituated to bearing thirst and heat; to cold and hunger, thanks to the climate and the soil, they are accustomed. . . .

. . . For clothing all wear a cloak, fastened with a clasp, or, in its absence, a thorn; they spend whole days on the hearth round the fire with no other covering. The richest men are distinguished by the wearing of under-clothes; not loose, like those of the Parthians and Sarmatians, but drawn tight, throwing each limb into relief.

They wear also the skins of wild beasts. . . . The women have the same dress as the men, except that very often trailing linen garments, striped with purple, are in use for women: the upper part of the costume does not widen into sleeves; their arms and shoulders are therefore bare, as is the adjoining portion of the breast.

None the less the marriage tie with them is strict; you will find nothing in their character to praise more highly. They are almost the only barbarians who are content with a wife apiece. . . .

On waking from sleep, which they generally prolong into the day, they wash, usually in warm water, since winter bulks so large in their lives; after washing, they take a meal, seated apart, each at his own table; then, arms in hand, they proceed to business, or, just as often, to revelry. . . .

For drink they use the liquid distilled from barley or wheat, after fermentation has given it a certain resemblance to wine. . . . Their diet is simple: wild fruit, fresh venison, curdled milk. . . .

Their shows are all of one kind, and the same whatever the gathering may be: naked youths, for whom there is a form of professional acting, jump and bound between swords and upturned spears. Practice has made them dexterous and dexterity graceful; yet not for hire or gain: however daring be the sport, the spectators' pleasure is the only price

they ask. Gambling, one may be surprised to find, they practise in all seriousness in their sober hours, with such recklessness in winning or losing that, when all else has failed, they staked personal liberty on the last and final throw: the loser faces voluntary slavery: though he be the younger and the stronger man, he suffers himself to be bound and sold. . . .

No race indulges more lavishly in hospitality and entertainment: to close the door against any human being is a crime. Everyone according to his property receives at a well-spread board: should it fail, he who had been your host points out your place of entertainment and goes with you. You go next door, without an invitation, but it makes no difference; you are received with the same courtesy. Stranger or acquaintance, no one distinguishes them where the right of hospitality is concerned. It is customary to speed the parting guest with anything he fancies. There is the same readiness in turn to ask of him: gifts are their delight, but they neither count upon what they have given, nor are bound by what they have received.

10. ENGLISH SLAVES IN ROME [A.D. 575]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, I, III, translated by J. A. Giles.

Some of these youths then, carried from England for sale to Rome, became the means of salvation of all their countrymen. For exciting the attention of that city, by the beauty of their countenances and the elegance of their features, it happened there, among others, the blessed Gregory, at that time archdeacon of the Apostolical See, was present. Admiring such an assemblage of grace in mortals, and at the same time pitying their abject condition, as captives, he asked the standers-by, "Of what race are these? Whence come they?" They reply, "By birth they are Angles, by

country are Deiri; [Deira being a province of Northumbria], subjects of King Alla and Pagans." Their concluding characteristic he accompanied with heartfelt sighs; to the others he elegantly alluded, saying, "that these Angles, *Angel*-like, should be delivered from (*de*) *ira*, and taught to sing *Alle-luia*." Obtaining permission without delay from Pope Benedict, the industry of this excellent man was all alive to enter on the journey to convert them; and certainly his zeal would have completed his intended labour, had not the mutinous love of his fellow-citizens recalled him, already on his progress. . . . His good intention, though frustrated at this time, received afterwards during his pontificate an honourable termination.

11. THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND TO CHRISTIANITY

SOURCE: Matthew of Westminster, *Flowers of History*, x, from the translation by C. D. Yonge.

A.D. 596. Augustine, the Servant of God, was sent by the blessed Pope Gregory into Britain to preach the Word of God to the barbarous nation of the Angles. For they, being blinded by Pagan superstitions, had destroyed all Christianity in that part of the Island which they occupied. But among some portions of the Britons, the faith of Christ still flourished which, having been introduced in the hundred and fifty-eighth year after the divine incarnation, was never wholly lost from among them. On the Eastern side of Kent is the Isle of Thanet, on which the man of God, Augustine, and his companions, to the number, as it is reported, of about forty men landed and Augustine, sending interpreters to King Ethelbert, gave him notice that he had come from Rome, and that he was the bearer of excellent tidings, because he promised eternal joy in heaven to those who should obey him. The king, hearing this, came a few days afterwards to the island, and sitting down in the open air,

invited Augustine and his companions to come there to a conference with him. And they, being endowed with divine courage, came, bearing a cross for a standard, and a likeness of our Lord and Saviour depicted on a picture, and chanting litanies for their own salvation, and that of those for whom they had come. And when at the command of the king, they had sat down, they presented the Word of Life to him and to all who had come with him, and he replied saying, "The things which you promise are beautiful but because they are new to me and doubtful I cannot at the moment give my assent to them, forsaking these things which I and my nation have so long preserved. But because you, being foreigners, have come hither from a great distance, and because you have been desirous to communicate to me the things which you yourselves believe to be true and excellent, we are not disposed to deal harshly with you. Nor do we prohibit you from winning over to the faith of your religion, all whom you can influence by preaching." Accordingly, he assigned them an abode in the City of Canterbury, which was the capital of his dominions, where they began to imitate the apostolic life of the primitive church, using continued prayers and fastings, and preaching the Word of God, and bathing all whom they could convince in the laver of salvation. And immediately many believed and were baptised. . . . On the east there was a church close to the city itself, which had been built in old time in honour of the blessed Martin, in which the Queen, the daughter of the King of France, by name Bertha, had been accustomed to pray, and in which these missionaries began also to meet together and preach and celebrate masses and baptise. And . . . the king himself among them . . . believed and was baptised. He also allotted to the doctors a habitation suitable to their degree in his own metropolis, the City of Canterbury, and he gave them what was necessary for them in their particular.

12. GREGORY'S ORDERS TO HIS MISSIONARIES [A.D. 597]

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, III (Forester).
Also Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XXX.

To his most beloved son Mellitus; the Abbott;
Gregory the Servant of the Servants of God.

Since the departure of those we associated with you, we have been very anxious because no tidings have reached us of the success of your journey. When, however, Almighty God shall have conducted you safely to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what, after long deliberation on English affairs, I have determined upon, viz. that the temples of idols in that nation ought by no means to be pulled down; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be consecrated and sprinkled in the said temple; let altars be raised and relics deposited under them. For if these temples are well built it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God; that the people seeing that their temples are not destroyed may cast out error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to places at which they have been used to worship. And inasmuch as they have been accustomed to slaughter many oxen in their sacrifices to devils, some solemnity ought to be substituted for this; on the anniversary of the feast of dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs whose relics are then deposited, they may erect booths, with the boughs of trees round those churches which have been converted from temples and celebrate the commemoration with religious festivity. Let them no more offer victims to the devil, but slaughter cattle to the praise of God in their entry, rendering thanks in their fulness to the Giver of all things; that so while some fleshly enjoyments are outwardly permitted, they may more readily be moved

to inward and spiritual joys. For it is doubtless, impossible to extinguish the desire for such indulgences from obdurate minds, and he who endeavours to mount to a lofty summit, ascends by degrees or steps, and not by leaps. Thus the Lord revealed Himself to the people of Israel in Egypt; but permitting the use of sacrifices He reserved to his own worship what before they were accustomed to offer to devils, commanding them to sacrifice animals in the worship of Himself, to the end that, changing their hearts, one thing in sacrifice they might abolish, another they might retain; that although the animals were the same they were wont to offer, yet now being offered to God and not to idols, the sacrifices were no longer the same. These things beloved we require you to communicate to our brothers aforesaid, that we being now present on the spot may consider how we may order all things. May God have you, most beloved son, in His holy keeping."

13. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH [*circa* A.D. 650]

SOURCE: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, II (Giles).

Theodore arrived at his church the second year after his consecration, on Sunday, the 27th of May. . . . Soon after, he visited all the island, wherever the tribes of the Angles inhabited, for he was willingly entertained and heard by all persons; and everywhere attended and assisted by Hadrian he taught the right rule of life and the Canonical custom of celebrating Easter. This was the first Archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed.

And forasmuch as both of them were, as has been said before, well read both in sacred and in secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers; and together with the books of holy writ, they also taught

them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic. A testimony of which is, that there are still living, at this day some of the scholars, who are as well versed in Greek and Latin tongues as in their own, in which they were born. Nor were there ever happier times since the English came into Britain; for their kings being brave men and good Christians they were a terror to all barbarous nations, and the minds of all men were bent upon the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had just heard, and all who desired to be instructed in sacred reading had masters at hand to teach them.

From that time also they began in all the churches of the English to learn sacred music, which till then had been only known in Kent, and, excepting James above mentioned, the first singing master in the churches of the Northumbrians was Eddi, surnamed Stephen, invited from Kent by the most reverend Wilfrid, who was the first of the bishops of the English nation that taught the churches of the English the Catholic mode of life.

Theodore, visiting all parts, ordained bishops in all places, and with their assistance converted such things as he found faulty. . . .

Being arrived in the City of Rochester, where the See had been long vacant by the death of Damianius, he ordained a person better skilled in ecclesiastical discipline, and more addicted to simplicity of life than active in worldly affairs. His name was Putta and he was extraordinarily skilful in the Roman style of church music; which he had learned from the disciples of the holy Pope Gregory. . . .

A.D. 681. Bishop Wilfrid, when he came into the province (South Saxons), and found so great a misery from famine, taught them to get their food by fishing; for the sea and rivers abounded in fish, but the people had no skill to take them, except eels alone. The bishop's men, having gathered eel-nets everywhere, cast them into the sea, and by the

blessing of God took three hundred fishes of several sorts, which, being divided into three parts, they gave a hundred to the poor, a hundred to those of whom they had the nets, and kept a hundred for their own use.

A.D. 731. Such being the peaceable and calm disposition of the times, many of the Northumbrians, as well of the nobility as private persons, laying aside their weapons rather incline to dedicate both themselves and their children to the tonsure and monastic vows, than to studying martial discipline.

14. CÆDMON, THE ENGLISH SACRED POET [A.D. 680]

SOURCE: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIV, from the translation by L. Gidley.

In the monastery of the abbess [Abbess Hilda of Whitby], was a certain brother especially marked by Divine grace, since he was wont to make songs suited to religion and piety, so that whatever he had learned from the Divine writings through interpreters, this he in a little while produced in poetical expressions composed with the greatest harmony and accuracy, in his own tongue, that is, in that of the Angles. By his songs the minds of many were excited to contemn the world, and desire the celestial life. And, indeed, others also after him in the nation of the Angles attempted to compose religious poems, but none could equal him. For he himself did not learn the art of poetry from men, or by being instructed by man; but, being divinely assisted, received gratuitously the gift of singing, on which account he never could compose any frivolous or idle poem, but those only which pertain to religion suited his religious tongue. For having lived in the secular habit unto the time of advanced age, he had never learned anything of singing. Whence, sometimes at an entertainment, when it was determined for the sake of mirth that all should sing in order, he,

when he saw the harp approaching him, used to rise in the midst of his supper, and, having gone out, walk back to his home.

Which, when he was doing on a tune, and, having left the house of entertainment had gone out to the stable of the beasts of burden, the care of which was entrusted to him on that night, and there, at the proper hour had resigned his limbs to sleep, a certain one stood by him in a dream, who saluting him and calling him by his name, said, "Cædmon, sing me something." Then he answering said, "I know not how to sing; and for that reason I went out from the entertainment and returned hither, because I could not sing." Again he who was talking with him, said, "Yet you have something to sing to me." "What," said he, "must I sing?" The other said, "Sing the beginning of created things." Having received this reply, he immediately began to sing verses in praise of God the Creator, which he had never heard, whereof this is the purport:—"Now we must praise the Author of the celestial kingdom, the power of the Creator and His counsel, the deeds of the Father of glory. How He, being Eternal God, was the author of all wonderful things; who first created heaven for the sons of men, on the roof of their dwellings, and afterwards created the earth, being the omnipotent guardian of mankind." This is the sense, but not the exact order of the words which he sang in his sleep, for songs, however excellently composed, cannot be translated from one tongue into another, word for word, without some loss of their beauty and spirit. Moreover, on his rising up from sleep, he retained in memory all that he had sung in his dream, and presently added to it more words of song worthy of God, after the same fashion.

And coming in the morning to the steward who was set over him, he told him what a gift he had received; and having been brought to the abbess, he was ordered, in the presence of many learned men, to declare his dream, and to repeat the

song, that it might be tested, by the judgment of all, what or whence it was that he related. And all concluded that a celestial gift had been granted him by the Lord. And they interpreted to him a certain passage of sacred history or doctrine, and ordered him to transpose it, if he could, into hallowed rhythm. And he, having undertaken it, departed, and returning in the morning, brought back what he was ordered to do, composed in most excellent verse. Whereupon presently the abbess, embracing heartily the grace of God in the man, instructed him to leave the secular habit and to take the monastic vow; and having, together with all her people, received him into the monastery, associated him with the company of the brethren and ordered him to be instructed in the whole course of sacred history. And he converted into most sweet song whatever he could learn from hearing, by thinking it over by himself, and, as though a clean animal, by *ruminations*; and by making it resound more sweetly, made his teachers in turn his hearers. . . .

15. THE INDUSTRY OF BEDE

SOURCE: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, V, XXIV (Gidley).

These things concerning the ecclesiastical History of Britain, and chiefly of the nature of the Angles, I, Bede, the servant of Christ, and presbyter of the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which is at Viuræmuda [Wearmouth], and Ingynum [Jarrow], have with the Lord's help, set in order, according as I could learn either from the writings of the ancients, or from the traditions of our forefathers, or by my own knowledge.

I was born on the land of the same monastery, and when I was seven years of age, I was entrusted by my relatives to the most reverend abbot Benedict, to be brought up, and afterwards to Ceolfrid; and dwelling all the succeeding time

of my life under the roof of the said monastery, I gave all my attention to the study of the Scriptures; and while observing the regular discipline, and the daily charge of singing in the Church, I always took delight in learning, teaching and writing.

Moreover, in the nineteenth year of my age, I received the diaconate, and in my thirtieth year the degree of the priesthood; each by the ministry of the most reverend bishop John, by the order of Abbot Ceolfrid.

From the time that I received the degree of priests' orders unto the fifty-ninth year of my age, I have been occupied in making the following brief annotations on Holy Scripture, for my own and my scholars' use, out of the works of the venerable fathers, or even in making some additions to the form of the meaning and interpolations given by them.

[Here follows a list of sixty works compiled by Bede on various books in the Old and New Testaments.]

Also, a book of letters to various persons: of which one is concerning the six ages of the world . . . one concerning the method of leap year; one concerning the equinox. . . .

Also concerning the histories of the saints, I have translated the book of the Life and Passion of St. Tcha the Confessor into prose, from the metrical book of Paulinus.

I have corrected, according to the sense, as well as I was able, the book of the Life and Passion of St. Anastasius, which had been badly translated from the Greek and worse amended by some unskilful person.

I have described the life of the holy father, both monk and bishop, Cudberct, first in heroic metre, and afterwards in plain prose.

The history of the abbots of this monastery . . . two books.

The Ecclesiastical History of our island and nation, in five books.

A Martyrology, concerning the birthdays of holy writers.

A Book of Hymns, in different metres or rhythm.

A Book of Epigrams in heroic, or elegiac, metre.

Concerning the Nature of Things, and concerning Tunes, one book each.

Also, Concerning Tunes; one large Book.

A book concerning Orthography, arranged in alphabetical order.

Also a book concerning the Metrical Art; and in addition to this, another small book, concerning Figures or Tropes, that is, concerning the figures or modes of speech, which are to be found in Holy Scripture.

THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN

16. THE NORTHMEN AT SEA

SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf*, III *et seq.*, translated by J. Earle.

(*a*) *The Voyage*

He (Beowulf) ordered a wave-traveller, a good one, to be prepared for him; said he would pass over the swan road and visit the gallant king the illustrious ruler inasmuch as he was in need of men. That adventure was little grudged him by sagacious men, though he was dear to them, they egged on the dareful spirit, they observed auguries. The brave man had selected champions, the keenest whom he could find; with fourteen in company he took to ship; a swain [1] for pilot, a water-skilled man, pointed out the landmarks.

Time went on; the float was on the waves, the boat under the cliffs. Warriors ready equipped mounted on the prow; currents eddied, surf against the beach; lads bore into the ship's lap bright apparel . . .; the men brave on adventure shoved off the light timbered craft. So the foamy necked floater went forth over the swelling ocean urged by the wind,

[1] Servant.

most like to a bird; till that in due time on the next day, the cruiser had made such way that the voyagers saw land, sea cliffs gleaming, hills towering, headlands stretching out to sea; then with the voyage accomplished, the water passage ended. Then they made fast the sea-wood, they shook out their sarks,[1] their war weeds, they thanked God for that their sea-faring had been easy.

(*b*) *The Landing*

Then from his rampart did the Scylding's[2] Warden, he who had to guard the sea-cliffs, espy men bearing over bulwark bright shields, . . . curiosity urged him with impassioned thoughts (to learn) who these men were.

Off he set then to the shore, riding on horseback; powerfully he brandished a huge lance in his hands, and he demanded with authoritative words, "Who are ye arm-bearing men, fenced with mail coats, who have come thus with proud ship over the watery high-way, hither over the billows? 'Long time have I been in fort stationed on the extremity of the country, I have kept the coast guard that on the land of the Dane no enemy with ship-harrying might be able to do hurt—never have shield-bearing men now openly attempted to land here; now do ye know before hand the password of our warriors, the confidential token of Kinsmen."

[After satisfying the coast guard] They proceeded then on their march, the vessel remained still, rode on her cable, the wide-bosomed ship at anchor fast:—the boar figures shone, prankt[3] with gold, ornate and hard welded. . . . In fighting mood they raged along, the men pushed forward; down hill they ran together until they could see the Hall structure, gallant and gold adorned; that was to dwellers on earth the most celebrated of all mansions under the sky, that in which the Ruler dwelt. . . .

[1] Shirts. [2] Chieftain. [3] Adorned.

17. PICTURES OF NORSE LIFE

SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf* (Earle).

(*a*) *The Arrival at the Hall*

The street was stone paven; the path guided the bonded men. The war corslet shone hard; the polished ring-iron sang in its meshes, when they in grim harness now came marching to the Hall. The sea-weary men set down their broad shields, bucklers mortal hard against the terrace of that mansion. They then seated themselves on the bench; their mail-coats rang, harness of warriors:—the spears stood, sea-men's artillery, stacked together, ash-timber with tip of grey; the iron-troop was accoutred worthily. . . .

(*b*) *The Banquet*

Then was there for the Goth-men all together, in the beer hall, a table cleared; there the resolute men went to sit in the pride of their strength. A thane attended to the service; one who bore in his hand a decorated ale-can. He poured forth the sheer nectar. At times a ministrel sang, clear-voiced in Heorot; there was social merriment, a brave company of Danes. . . . There was laughter of mighty men; music sounded; the words [of song] were jovial. . . .

Wealhtheow moved forward, Heothgar's Queen, mindful of ceremonies; she greeted in her gold array the men in Hall; and then the noble lady presented the beaker first to the sovereign of the East Danes, wished him blithe at the banquet and dear to his friends—he merrily enjoyed the feast, and the Hall-cup, valiant king. Then the Helming princess went the round, to elder and to younger, every part; handed the jewelled cup; till the moment came, that she, the diademed queen, with dignity befitting, brought the mead-cup right to Beowulf; she greeted the Leed of the Goths. . . . He, the death-doing warrior, accepted the beaker at Wealhtheow's hand [and suitably replied]. To

the lady the words were well liking, the valiant speech of the Goth; she walked gold-arrayed, high-born queen of the nation, to sit by her lord.

(*c*) *And so to Bed*

Then was again . . . the lofty word outspoken, the company was happy, the sound was that of a mighty people; until suddenly the king was minded to retire to his nightly rest. . . . All the company arose. Then did man greet man. Heothgar greeted Beowulf, bespoke him luck, mastery in the house of hospitality and delivered this speech. . . . So Heothgar, chief of Scyldings, took his departure with retinue of men out of Hall . . . Then put he off from him his iron byrnie,[1] helmet from head; delivered to his esquire the richly decorated sword, choicest steel; and charged him with the care of his war-harness. Then did the valiant man Beowulf the Goth utter some vaunting words 'ere he mounted on bed. . . . Then the daring warrior laid him down; the pillow received the countenance of the lord; and round about him many a smart sea-warrior crouched to his hall-rest.

(*d*) *Riding, Racing, Tale-telling*

Now and then the gallant warriors loosened their russet-horses for a gallop, to run a match, where the turfways looked fair or were favourably known. Other whiles, a thane of the king's, bombastic groom, his mind full of ballads, the man who remembered good store of old-world tales—word followed word by the bond of truth—began anon to rehearse, cunningly to compose, the adventure of Beowulf, and fluently to pursue the story in its order, with interesting words. . . . At intervals racing, they with their horses measured the fallow streets.

[1] Coat of mail.

(e) *Rejoicings and Giving of Gifts*

Then was the order promptly given that the interior of Heorot should be decorated; many there were, of men and of women, who garnished that genial palace, hospitable hall. Gold-glistening shone the brocaded tapestries along the walls, pictures many for the wonder of all people who have an eye for such. . . . They went to bench in merry guise—while their kinsmen enjoyed the copious feast, and with fair courtesy quaffed many a mead-bowl. . . . Then did the son of Healfdene present to Beowulf a golden ensign in reward of victory, decorated staff banner, helmet and mail-coat, many beheld when they brought the grand treasure sword before the hero. Beowulf tasted the beaker on the hall-floor; no need had he to be ashamed of that bounty giving before the archers. There are not many instances of men giving to others at ale-bench four treasures gold bedight [1] in friendlier wise.[2]

Then did the . . . [chieftain] . . . command to bring eight horses gold-cheeked into the court within the palings; on one of them stood the saddle gaily caparisoned and decorated with silver, which was the war seat of the high king when he was minded to exercise the play of swords. And then did the chief deliver unto Beowulf possession of both at once, both horses and arms;—bade him enjoy them well.

Moreover, to each of those who had made the voyage with Beowulf, did the Captain of warriors give a precious gift at the mead-bench; an old heirloom. . . . Then was song and instrumental music together blended, concerning Healfdene's war-chief, the harp was struck, a ballad often recited, what time the hall-joy along the mead-bench was provoked by Heothgar's minstrel. . . . Enjoyment rose high as before, bright was the sound of revelry, the drawers served wine out of curious flagons. Then came Wealhtheow forward,

[1] Decorated with. [2] Manner.

moving under her golden diadem [and presented gifts to Beowulf]. She went then to her chair. There was high-festivity; men drank wine. . . . By and by the evening came, and Heothgar betook him to his lodge, the prince to his repose.

Courteous nobles guarded the Hall, as they had often done in earlier times; they cleared away the bench-boards; it was strewn throughout with beds and bolsters. . . . At their heads they set the shields, the bright bucklers, there on the bench was over each etheling, plain to be seen, the towering war helmet, the ringed mail-coat, the shaft of awful power. Their custom was that they were constantly for war, whether at home or in the field, in both cases alike, whatever the occasion on which their liege lord had need of their services—it was a good people.

18. THE PASSING OF A VIKING

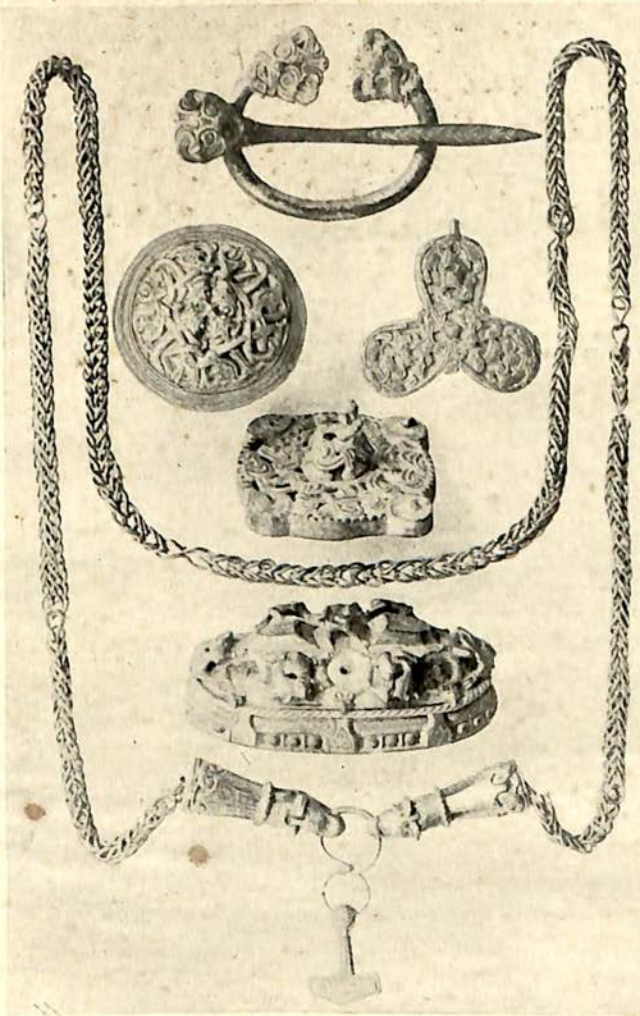
SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf*, Prologue (Earle).

As for Scyld,[1] he departed, at the destined hour, full of exploit, to go into the Master's keeping. They then carried him forth to the shore of the sea, his faithful comrades, as he himself had requested, while he with his words held sway as lord of the Scyldings; dear chief of the land, he had long tenure of power.

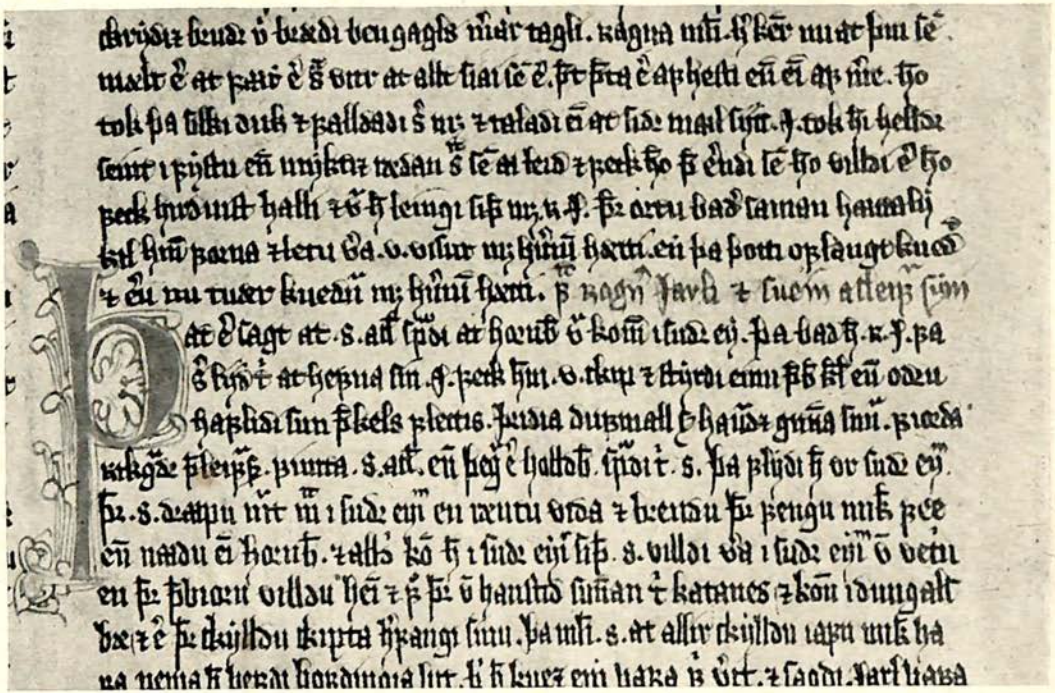
There at the landing-place stood the ship with ringed prow, glistening afresh, and outward bound; convoy for a prince. Down laid they there the beloved chief, dispenser of jewels, on the lap of the ship, the illustrious (dead) by the mast.

There was store of precious things, ornaments from remote ports, brought together; never heard I of craft comelier fitted with slaughter weapons and campaigning harness, with swords and breast-mail;—in his keeping lay a multitude

[1] The Danish Chieftain.



Ornaments of the Viking Period



Part of the Orkneyinga Saga

of treasures, which were to pass with him far away into the watery realm. Not at all with less gifts, less stately opulence, did they outfit him, than those had done, who at the first had sent him forth; lone over the wave, when he was an infant. Furthermore, they set up by him a gold wrought banner, high over his head; they let the flood bear him, gave him over to the ocean; sad was their soul, mourning their mood. Who received that burthen, men, heads of Halls, heroes under heaven cannot for certain tell.

19. BEOWULF'S FUNERAL

SOURCE: *The Deeds of Beowulf*, III, XLIII (Earle).

For him, then, did the Leeds of the Goths construct a pyre upon the earth, one of no mean dimensions, hung about with helmets, with battle swords, with bright byrnies,[1] as he had requested; then did they, heaving deep sighs, lay in the midst of it the illustrious cheftain, the hero, the beloved lord. Then began the warriors to kindle upon the hill the highest of bale[2]-fires; the wood smoke mounted up black over the combustive mass, the roaring blaze shot aloft, mingled with the howling of the wind-currents; until, the sweltering element had demolished the bone house. With hearts distressed and care-laden minds they mourned their liege lord's death. . . .

Then did the people . . . construct a tumulus on the hill; it was high and broad, to sea-voyagers widely conspicuous; and during ten days they laboured about the building of the war-hero's beacon. They surrounded the ashes of the conflagration with an embankment in such wise as men of eminent skill could contrive it with noblest effort. They deposited in the barrow collars and brilliants, the whole of such trappings as war-breathing men had recently captured.

[1] Coats of mail. [2] Mourning.

Then there rode around the tumulus war-chiefs, sons of ethelings, twelve in all; they would bewail their loss, bemoan the king, recite an elegy and celebrate his name.

20. VIKING VOYAGES

SOURCE: *Icelandic Sagas*, Vol. III. *The Orkneyingers' Saga*, translated by Sir G. W. Dasent. Rolls Series.

When Hacon was but a few winters old, Sweyn Asleif's son offered to take him as his foster child, and he was bred up there [the Orkneys], and as soon as ever he was so far fit, that he could go about with other men, the Sweyn had him away with him a sea-roving every summer, and led him to worthiness in everything. It was Sweyn's wont at that time that he sat through the winter at home in Gairsay, and there he kept always about him eight men at his beck. He had so great a drinking-hall, that there was not another as great in all the Orkneys. Sweyn had in the spring hard work, and made them lay down very much seed, and looked much after it himself, but when that toil was ended he fared away every spring on a viking voyage, and harried about the Southern Isles and Iceland, and came home after midsummer; That he called spring-viking. Then he was at home until the cornfields were reaped down, and the grain seen to, and stored; then he fared away on a viking voyage, and then he did not come home until the winter was one month spent, and that he called his autumn-viking. . . .

On the spring cruise they had five ships with oars and all of them large. They harried about among the Southern Isles. Then the folk was so scared at him in the Southern Isles that men hid all their goods and chattels in the earth or in piles of rocks. Sweyn sailed as far south as Man, and got ill off for spoil. But when they came about south under Dublin, then two keels sailed there from off the main, which

had come from England and meant to steer for Dublin; they were laden with English cloths, and great store of goods were aboard them. Sweyn and his men pulled up to the keels, and offered them battle. Little came of the defence of the Englishmen before Sweyn gave the word to board. Then the Englishmen were made prisoners. And then they robbed them of every penny which was aboard the keels, save that the Englishmen kept the clothes they stood in and some food, and went on their way afterwards with the keels, but Sweyn and his men fared to the Southern Isles, and shared their war spoil. They sailed from the west with great pomp. They did this as a glory for themselves when they lay in harbours, that they threw awnings of English cloth over their ships. But when they sailed into the Orkneys they sewed the cloth on to the forepart of the sails, so that it looked in that wise as though the sails were made altogether of broadcloth. This they called the broadcloth cruise. Sweyn fared home to his house in Gairsay. He had taken from the keels much wine and English mead.

THE WELDING OF THE RACE

21. THE FIRST MAKERS OF GLASS IN ENGLAND

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, I, III (Giles).

For even Britain, which by some is called another world since, surrounded by the ocean, it is not thoroughly known by many geographers, possesses, in its remotest region, bordering on Scotland, the place of his [the Venerable Bede's] birth and education. This region, formerly exhaling the grateful odour of monasteries, or glittering with a multitude of cities built by the Romans, now desolate through the ancient devastation of the Danes, or those

more recent of the Normans[1] presented little to allure the mind.

Here is the River Wear, of considerable breadth and rapid tide; which running into the sea, receives the vessels borne by gentle gales, on the calm bosom of its haven. Both its banks[2] have been made conspicuous by one Benedict who there built churches and monasteries; one dedicated to Peter and the other to Paul, united in the bond of brotherly love and of monastic rule. The industry and forebearance of the men, anyone will admire who reads the book which Bede composed concerning his life, and those of the succeeding abbots; his industry in bringing over a multitude of books and being the first person who introduced in England constructors of stone edifices as well as makers of glass windows; in which pursuits he spent almost his whole life abroad; the love of his country and his taste for elegance beguiling his painful labour, in the earnest desire of conveying something to his countrymen out of the common way; for very rarely before the time of Benedict were buildings of stone seen in Britain, nor did the Solar ray cast its light through the transparent glass.

22. THE EDUCATION OF ALFRED THE GREAT [A.D. 864]

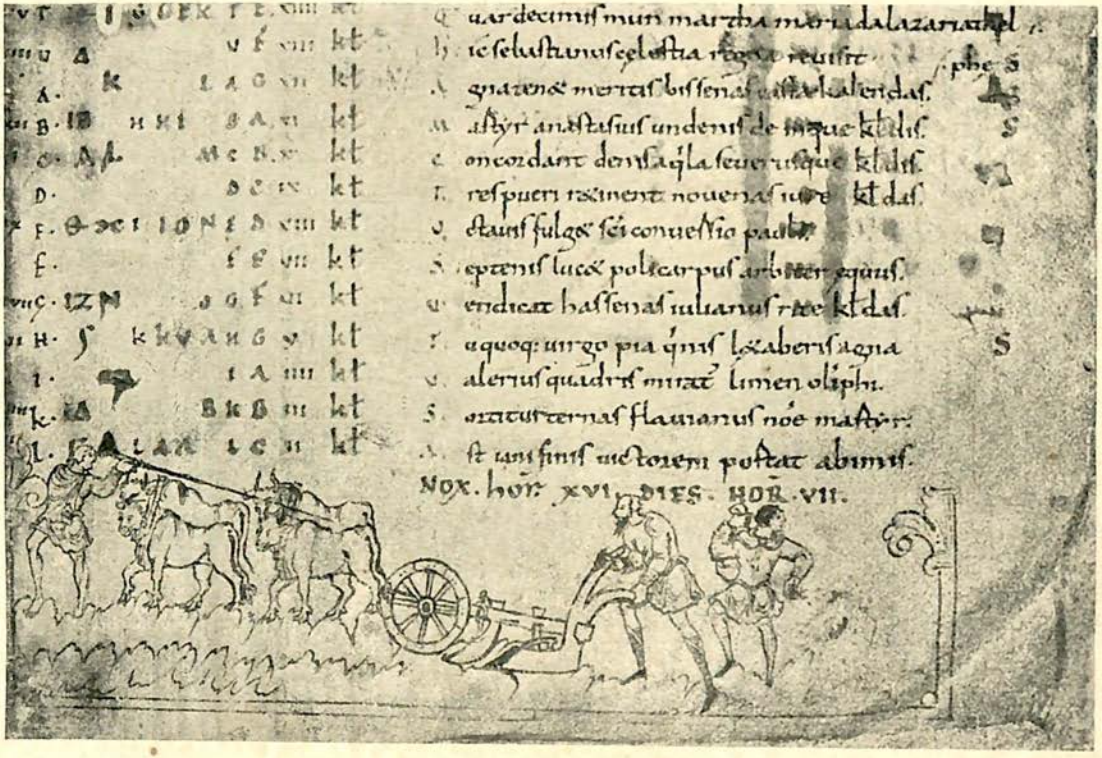
SOURCE: Asser, *Life of Alfred*, from the translation by J. A. Giles, in *Six Old English Chronicles*.

He was loved by his father and mother, and even by all the people, above all his brothers, and was educated altogether at the court of the king. As he advanced through the years of infancy and youth, his form appeared more

[1] The Danes laid waste the North of England in A.D. 793 and continued their devastation throughout the reign of Alfred and Ethelred. William the Conqueror harried the whole of the country north of the Humber with fire and sword in A.D. 1069.

[2] Not quite correct; Jarrow, one of Benedict's monasteries, is on the River Tyne.

Monkwearmouth Church Tower



Old English Ploughmen

comely than that of his brothers; in look, in speech, and in manners he was more graceful than they. His noble nature implanted in him from his cradle a love of wisdom above all things, but, with shame be it spoken, by the unworthy neglect of his parents and nurses, he remained illiterate even till he was twelve years old or more, but he listened with serious attention to the Saxon poems which he often heard recited, and easily retained them in his docile memory. He was a zealous practiser of hunting in all its branches, and hunted with great assiduity and success, for skill and good fortune in this art, as in all others, are among the gifts of God, as we also have often witnessed.

On a certain day, therefore, his mother was showing him and his brother a Saxon book of poetry, which she held in her hand, and said, "Whichever of you shall the soonest learn this volume shall have it for his own." Stimulated by these words, or rather by the Divine inspiration, and allured by the beautifully illuminated letter at the beginning of the volume, he spoke before all his brothers, who, though his seniors in age, were not so in grace, and answered, "Will you really give that book to one of us, that is to say, to him who can first understand and repeat it to you?" At this his mother smiled with satisfaction, and confirmed what she had before said. Upon which the boy took the book out of her hand, and went to his master to read it, and in due time brought it to his mother and recited it.

After this he learned the daily course, that is, the celebration of the hours and afterwards certain psalms, and several prayers, contained in a certain book which he kept day and night in his bosom, as we ourselves have seen, and carried about with him to assist his prayers, amid all the bustle and business of this present life. But, sad to say! he could not gratify his most ardent wish to learn the liberal arts, because, as he said, there were no good readers at that time in all the kingdom of the West-Saxons.

23. OF PEOPLE'S RANK AND LAW

SOURCE: Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England.*

1. It was whilom,[1] in the laws of the English, that people and law went by ranks, and then were the counsellors of the nation of worship worthy, each according to his condition "eorl," and "ceorl," "thegen" and "theoden."

2. And if a "ceorl" thrived, so that he had fully five hides[2] of his own land, church, and kitchen, bell-house . . . and special duty in the king's hall, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

3. If a thane thrived, so that he served the king, and on his summons rode among his household; and if he then had a thane, who, in the king's hall served his lord and thrice with his errand went to the king; he might thenceforth, with his "fore-oath" his lord represent, at various needs, and his plaint lawfully conduct, wheresoever he ought.

4. And if a thane thrived so that he became an "eorl" then was he henceforth of "eorl"-right worthy.

5. And if a merchant thrived so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

6. And if there a scholar were, who through learning thrived, so that he had holy orders, and served Christ; then was he thenceforth of rank and power so much more worthy.

24. WORKERS AND THEIR WORK

SOURCE: *The Colloquies of Aelfric*: adapted from the translation by Thorpe in *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica.*

[The plowman says:] "I work hard; I go out at day break, driving the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plow. Be it never so stark winter I dare not linger at home for fear of my lord; but having yoked my oxen, and fastened

[1] Formerly. [2] Approximately 100 acres.

share and coulter, every day I must plow a full acre or more. I have a boy driving the oxen with a goad-iron, who is hoarse with cold and shouting. And I do more also. I have to fill the oxen's bins with hay and water them, and take out their litter . . . mighty hard work it is, for I am not free."

[The shepherd says:] "In the first of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture and stand over them, in heat and in cold with my dogs, lest the wolves swallow them up; and I lead them back to their folds and milk them twice a day; and their folds I move; and I make cheese and butter, and I am true to my lord."

[The Oxherd says:] "When the plowman unyokes the oxen, I lead them to pasture, and all night I stand over them, waking against thieves; and then again in the early morning I betake them, well filled and watered, to the plowman."

[The king's Hunter says:] "I braid me nets and set them in fit places, and set my hounds to follow up the wild game, till they come unsuspecting to the net and are caught therein; and I slay them in the net. . . . With swift hounds I hunt down wild game. I take harts and boars, and bucks and roes, and sometimes hares. I give the king what I take, because I am his hunter. He clothes me well, and feeds me, and sometimes gives me a horse as an arm-ring that I may pursue my craft the more merrily."

[The Fisher says:] "I go on board my boat and cast my net into the river, and cast my angle and baits, and what they catch I take. I cast the unclean fish away and take me the clean for meat. The citizens buy my fish. I cannot catch as many as I could sell. Eels and pike, minnows and eel-pout, trout and lampreys. . . . In the sea I catch herrings and lax [salmon] porpoises, and sturgeon, oysters and crabs, mussels, periwinkles, sea-cockles, plaice and fluke [flounder], and lobsters and many of the like. . . . It is a perilous thing to catch a whale. It is pleasanter for me to

go to the river with my boat than to go with many boats whale-hunting."

[The fowler says :] "In many ways I trick the birds—sometimes with nets, with gins, with lime, with whistling, with a hawk, with traps."

[The merchant says :] "I go aboard my ship with my goods, and I go over sea and sell my things, and buy precious things which are not produced in this country, and bring them hither to you . . . pall [brocade] and silk, precious gems and gold, various raiment, and dye-stuffs, wine and oil, ivory and mastling [brass-stone], copper and tin, sulphur and glass and the like, and I wish to sell them dearer here than I buy there, that I may get some profit wherewith I may feed myself and my wife and my sons."

25. A USEFUL AND SHREWD INVENTION [A.D. 888]

SOURCE: Asser, *Life of Alfred* (Giles).

After long reflection on these things, Alfred at length, by a useful and shrewd invention, commanded his chaplains to supply wax in a sufficient quantity, and he caused it to be weighed in such a manner that when there was so much of it in the scales, as would equal the weight of seventy-two pence, he caused the chaplains to make six candles thereof, each of equal length, so that each candle might have twelve divisions marked longitudinally upon it. By this plan, therefore, those candles burned for twenty-four hours, a night and day, without fail, before the sacred relics of many of God's elect, which always accompanied him wherever he went; but sometimes when they would not continue burning a whole day and night, till the same hour that they were lighted the preceding evening, from the violence of the wind, which blew day and night without intermission through the doors and windows of the churches, the fissures of the divi-

sions, the plankings, or the wall, or the thin canvass of the tents, they then unavoidably burned out and finished their course before the appointed time, the king therefore considered by what means he might shut out the wind, and so by a useful and cunning invention, he ordered a lantern to be beautifully constructed of wood and white ox-horn, which, when skilfully planed till it is thin, is no less transparent than a vessel of glass. This lantern, therefore, was wonderfully made of wood and horn, as we before said, and by night a candle was put into it, which shone as brightly without as within, and was not extinguished by the wind, for the opening of the lantern was also closed up, according to the king's command, by a door made with horn.

26. ALFRED'S LOVE OF LEARNING [A.D. 884]

SOURCE: Asser, *Life of Alfred* (Giles).

Ethelwerd, the youngest of Alfred's children, by the divine counsels and the admirable prudence of the king, was consigned to the schools of learning, where, with the children of almost all the nobility of the country, and many also who were not noble, he prospered under the diligent care of his teachers. Books in both languages, namely, Latin and Saxon, were read in the school. They also learned to write; so that before they were of an age to practise many arts, namely, hunting and such pursuits as befit noblemen, they became studious and clever in the liberal arts. . . .

In the meantime the king, during the frequent wars and other trammels of this present life, the invasion of the pagans, and his own daily infirmities of body, continued to carry on the government and to exercise hunting in all its branches; to teach his workers in gold and artificers of all kinds, his falconers, hawkers, and dogkeepers; to build houses, majestic and good, beyond all the precedents of his ancestors,

by his new mechanical inventions; to recite the Saxon books, and especially to learn by heart the Saxon poems, and to make others learn them. He alone never desisted from studying most diligently to the best of his ability. He attended mass and other daily services of religion. He was frequent in psalm-singing and prayer at the hours both of the day and night. He also went to the churches in the night-time to pray, secretly and unknown to his courtiers. He bestowed alms and largesses on both natives and foreigners of all countries. He was affable and pleasant to all, and curiously eager to investigate things unknown. Many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, pagans, Britons, Scots, and Armoricans, noble and ignoble, submitted voluntarily to his dominion.

But God at that time, as some consolation to the king's benevolence, yielding to his complaint, sent certain lights to illuminate him, namely, Werefrith, bishop of the church of Worcester, a man well versed in Divine Scripture, who, by the king's command, first turned the book of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory and Peter, his disciple, from Latin into Saxon, and sometimes putting sense for sense interpreted them with clearness and elegance. After him was Plegmund, a Mercian by birth, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, a venerable man and endowed with wisdom; Ethelstan, also, and Werewulf, his priests and chaplains, Mercians by birth and learned men. These four had been invited out of Mercia by King Alfred, who exalted them with many honours in the Kingdom of the West Saxons. By their teaching and wisdom the king's desires increased inceasingly, and were gratified. Night and day, whenever he had leisure, he commanded such men as these to read books to him—for he never suffered himself to be without one of them—and thus he acquired a knowledge of every book.

But the king's commendable avarice could not be gratified even by this, for he sent messengers beyond the sea to Gaul

to procure teachers, and he invited from thence Grimbald, priest and monk, a venerable man and good singer, adorned with every kind of ecclesiastical discipline and good morals, and most learned in Holy Scripture. He also obtained from thence John, also priest and monk, a man of most energetic talents and learned in all kinds of literary science, and skilled in many other arts. By the teaching of these two men the king's mind was much enlarged, and he enriched and honoured them with much influence.

27. SOME PENALTIES FOR WOUNDS [*circa* A.D. 890]

SOURCE: Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes.*

If a man's arm with the hand, be entirely cut off before the elbow, let "bōt" [reparation] be made for it LXXX shillings.

If a man break another's rib within the whole skin, let X shillings be paid as "bōt"; if the skin be broken, and bone be taken out let XV shillings be paid as "bōt."

(*Laws of King Alfred.*)

If a thumb be struck off, XX shillings. If a thumb nail be off let "bōt" be made with III shillings. If the shooting (*i.e.* fore) finger be struck off let "bōt" be made with VIII shillings. If the middle finger be struck off let "bōt" be made with IV shillings. If the gold [*i.e.* ring] finger be struck off, let "bōt" be made with VI shillings. If the little finger be struck off, let "bōt" be made with XI shillings.

For every nail a shilling.

If a foot be cut off let L shillings be paid.

If a great toe be cut off let X shillings be paid.

For each of the other toes let one half be paid, like as is stated for the fingers. (*Laws of King Aethelbirht.*)

28. THE FIRST NAVY [A.D. 897]

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, translated by Thorpe in the Rolls Series. Vol II.

Then King Aelfred commanded long ships to be built against them [the Danes] which was full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, some more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others; they were shapen neither as the Frisian nor the Danish, but as it seemed to himself that they might be most useful.

29. THE EDUCATION OF A KING'S CHILDREN [A.D. 912]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, II, v (Giles).

Edward [the son of Alfred] brought up his daughters in such wise, that in childhood they gave their whole attention to literature, and afterwards employed themselves in the labours of the distaff and needle. . . . His sons were so educated, as, first, to have the completest benefit of learning, that afterwards they might succeed to govern the State, not like rustics, but philosophers.

30. HOW THE DANES RAVAGED ENGLAND [A.D. 837]

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, V, Preface, adapted from Forester's translation.

But the Danes by inroad after inroad overran the land; not to settle came they but to spoil, to harry rather than to conquer. And if anywhere they were worsted it was of no avail, for then would they raid some other spot, with a larger fleet and a stronger force. Wonder was it when the English kings were hasting to meet them in the East, ere they could come up with their bands a breathless scout would run in, saying, "Sir King, whither marchest thou? The heathen have banded in the south a countless fleet.

Towns and hamlets are in flames, fire and slaughter are on every side." Yea, and that every day another would come running: "Sir King, why withdrawest thou? A fearsome host has come to shore in the West. If ye face them not speedily, they will hold that ye flee, and will be on your rear with fire and sword?" Again on the morrow, would dash up yet another, saying, "What place make ye for, noble chieftain? In the North have the Danes made a raid. Already have they burnt your dwellings. Even now are they sweeping off your goods, tossing your babes on their spearpoints, dishonouring your wives, and haling them to captivity!" Bewildered by such tidings of bitter woe, both king and people lost heart and strength both of mind and body and were utterly cast down.

31. HOW THE DANES TREATED THE ENGLISH [*circa* A.D. 900]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, I.

But now, ere we proceed any further; we will show what rule the Danes kept here in this realm before they were thus murdered, as in some books we find recorded. Whereas it is shown that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to till the ground and do all manner of labour and toil to be done about husbandry; the Danes lived upon the fruit and gains that came thereof. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarce have such sustenance of meats and drinks as fell for servants to have; so that, the Danes had all their commandments, eating and drinking of the best, where the silly man that was the owner, could hardly come to his fill of the worst. Besides this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for fear and dread they called them in every such house where any of them sojourned, Lord Dane, and if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to meet at any bridge or straight passage, the Englishman must stay till the Lord Dane were passed.

32. DOOM CONCERNING HOT IRON AND WATER [*circa* A.D. 930]

SOURCE: Laws of King Athelstan (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*).

And concerning the ordeal we enjoin by the command of God, and of the archbishop, and of all bishops; that no man come within the church after the fire is borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the mass-priest, and him who shall go thereto. Let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark, by the man's feet who goes thereto. But if it be water, let it be heated till it low to boiling. And be the kettle of iron or of brass or of lead or of clay. And if it be a single accusation, let the hand dive after the stone up to the wrist; and if it be threefold, up to the elbow. And when the ordeal is ready, then let two men go in of either side; and be they agreed that it is so hot as we before have said. And let go in an equal number of men of either side and stand on both sides of the ordeal, along the church; and let these all be fasting on that night; and let the mass-priest sprinkle holy-water over them all, and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and the image of Christ's rood to kiss; and let no man mend the fire any longer, when the hallowing is begun; but let the iron lie upon the hot embers till the last collect; after that, let it be laid upon the "stapela" [pile of wood], and let there be no other speaking within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God that He make manifest what is soothest. And let him go thereto; and let his hand be enveloped, and be it postponed till after the third day, whether it be foul or clean within the envelope. And he who shall break this law, be the ordeal with respect to him void, and let him pay to the king one hundred and twenty shillings as "wite" [fine].

33. SOME EARLY LAWS CONCERNING THE ASSEMBLING OF COUNCILS [*circa* A.D. 970]

SOURCE: Laws of King Edgar (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*).

(*a*) "And let the 'hundred-gemot'[1] be attended as it was before fixed; and thrice in the year let a 'burh-gemot' be held; and twice a shire-gemot'; and let there be present the bishop of the shire and the 'Ealdorman,' and these both expound as well the law of God as the secular law."

(*b*) This is the ordinance how the hundred shall be held:

First, that they meet always within four weeks; and that every man do justice to another.

2. That a thief shall be pursued . . .

If there be present need, let it be made known to the hundred man, and let him [make it known] to the tithing men; and let all go forth to where God may direct them to go; let them do justice on the thief.

7. In the hundred, as in any other gemot, we ordain; that folk-right be pronounced in every suit, and that a term be fixed, when it shall be fulfilled. And he who shall break that term, unless it be by his lord's decree, let him make his "bōt"[2] with XXX shillings, and on the day fixed, fulfil that which he ought to have done before.

8. An ox's bell, and a dog's collar, and a bleathorn; either of these three shall be worth a shilling, and each is reckoned an informer.

9. Let the iron that is for the threefold ordeal weigh III pounds; and for the single one pound.

[1] Gemot = a mote or moot, meeting, public assembly.
[2] Bōt = reparation.

34. THE SERVICES DUE FROM VARIOUS PERSONS IN CANUTE'S REIGN [*circa* A.D. 1030]

SOURCE: *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, translated from the Latin version in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes.*

The *Thegn's*[1] law is that he do three things for his estate. Military Service, the repair of fortifications and bridge building. Also on many estates more land-duty is forthcoming at the king's command, for example deer-hedging at the royal palace . . . and many other things.

The *Geneat's*[2] services are many and various according as they are fixed on the estate. On some he must pay rent and a grass-swine[3] every year, ride, carry, and lead loads, work and support his lord, reap and mow, cut the deer-hedge, and keep it firm . . . and carry messages far and near whenever he may be ordered.

The *Cottar's*[4] duty is what is fixed on the estate. On some estates he must work for his lord every Monday in the year and three days a week in harvest. On others he must work every day through the whole of August and must mow an acre of oats in a day. He ought not to pay rent. He should have five acres in his holding, more if it is the custom on the estate, and if it were any less in extent, it is too little because his work is often required. He must pay his hearth penny on Holy Thursday as every free man ought to do.

The *Gebur's*[5] services are manifold, in some places heavy, in others moderate. On some estates he must work at week-work at such work as is required from him every week throughout the year and at harvest three days for week-work and from Candlemas[6] to Easter thrice.

If his horse is being employed on behalf of his lord, he need not work whilst his horse is away. On Michaelmas[7]

[1] Noble.
[2] Retainer.
[3] Payment for putting swine to pasture.
[4] Cottager.
[5] Tenant farmer.
[6] Feb. 2nd.
[7] Sept. 29th.

day he must pay ten pence rent and on Martinmas [1] twenty-three, a sester [2] of barley and two hens; at Easter a young sheep or two pence.

As often as it shall fall to his lot, he shall lie from Martinmas to Easter at the lord's fold. From the time when ploughing first begins until Martinmas he shall plough one acre every week and shall himself prepare the seed in his lord's barn. . . . And every gebur shall give six loaves to the swine-herd when he drives his herd to pasture. Wherever this is the custom, it is the rule that the gebur must have for the stocking of his land two oxen, and one cow, six sheep, and seven acres sown on his yardland. But after that year let him do every duty that pertains to him; and let implements be given him for his work and furniture for his house. On his death, his lord may claim everything.

This custom exists on some estates, but as has been said before, in some places the custom presses more heavily, in others more lightly, since all land customs are not alike. On some land the gebur shall pay honey-rent, on some meat-rent, on some ale-rent. It behoves him who holds the office of steward to see that he always knows what are the conditions belonging to a particular estate or what is the custom of the people.

The *Beekeeper*, if he hold a swarm of bees, etc. must pay according to the custom of the estate. In some places it is laid down that he pay five sesters [3] of honey as rent. . . .

The Swineherd paying pig-rent must supply his pigs for slaughter according to the custom of the locality. In many places it is decreed that every year he shall give fifteen pigs for killing, ten old and five young; he himself may keep what he has over and above this number.

The Swine-herd who looks after the herd of pigs belonging

[1] The feast of St. Martin, Nov. 11th.
[2] Probably about 8 bushels.
[3] A liquid measure for beer, wine, etc., probably about a pint.

to the lord and is only a slave may have the sty-pig and its pluck when he has carefully prepared the bacon and any other rights which by law pertain to slaves.

A *Slave woman* is entitled to eight pounds of corn for food, one sheep or three pennies for winter food, one sester of beans for lenten fare, and in summer whey or one penny.

All *Slaves* are entitled to a Christmas feast and an Easter feast, and in harvest a handful of corn besides their dues.

The *Sowers* shall have one basketful of every kind of seed when he has sown all the seed well for a year.

The *Oxherd* is permitted to pasture two oxen or more with the herd belonging to his lord on the common with the sanction of his overseer. . . .

The *Cowherd* may have the milk of a cow for seven nights after she has calved.

The *Shepherd's* due is that he may have twelve nights manure at Christmas and one lamb and the fleece of a bell-wether and the milk of his flock for seven nights before the autumnal Equinox and throughout the Summer a cupful of buttermilk.

The *Goatherd* claims the milk of his flock after Martinmas day and previous to that his share of buttermilk and a yearling kid if he looks after his flock well.

The *Cheesemaker's* due is one hundred cheeses and to make butter for the lord's table she may have all the buttermilk except the shepherd's share.

The *Barn-man* is entitled to whatever corn falls at the door of the barn in harvest if his overseer grants it to him and he faithfully deserves it.

The *Beadle's* due is that he is on account of his office freer of work than other men; because he must be more often available. He is entitled to some piece of land for his work.

The *Woodward* is entitled to every tree blown down by the wind.

The *Hayward's* due is that he be rewarded in that part of

the land adjoining the meadow; because he ought to know that if he does not guard this, any damage will be imputed to him. And if any portion of land is given him, according to public law it ought to be adjoining the meadow-land, so that in the event of cattle breaking through owing to his own carelessness his own land will be the first to suffer.

The laws and customs of estates are many and various as we have said before, and we do not lay down a general rule; but we note what is the custom in certain districts. If better customs are brought to our notice we will gladly approve and endeavour to hold by the customs of the people amongst whom we are then living.

For a man who does not wish to be without honour in a district must willingly embrace the laws of its inhabitants. In some places, for instance, there is a feast at Christmas, at Easter, a feast for harvest, a drinking feast for ploughing . . . and many other things.

35. BOC-LAND

SOURCE: *An Enquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England*, by John Allen (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*).

"Boc-land was land held by book or charter. It was land that had been severed by an act of Government from the folc-land, and converted into an estate of perpetual inheritance. It might belong to the church, to the king, or to a subject. It might be alienable and devisable at the will of the proprietor; it might be limited in its descent without any power of Alienation in the possessor. It was often granted for a single life, or for more lives than one, with remainder in perpetuity to the church. It was forfeited for various delinquinces to the state.

Estates in perpetuity were usually created by charter after the introduction of writing, and on that account, boc-land and land of inheritance are often used as synony-

mous expressions. But at an earlier period they were conferred by the delivery of a staff, a spear, an arrow, a drinking horn, the branch of a tree, or of a piece of turf. . . .

Boc-land was released from all services to the public with the exception of contributing to military expedition, and to the reparation of castles and bridges. . . .

Boc-land might be held by freemen of all ranks and degrees.

The estates of the higher nobility consisted chiefly of boc-land. Bishops and abbots might have boc-land of their own in addition to what they held in right of the church.

The Anglo-Saxon kings had private estates of boc-land, and their estates did not merge in the crown, but were devisable by will, gift, or sale, and transmissable by inheritance, in the same manner as boc-land held by a subject."

Some Early Laws regarding Boc-land

(*a*) The man who has boc-land, and which his kindred left him, then ordain we that he must not give it from his own "Mæg-burg" [family], if there be writing or witness that it was forbidden by those men who at first acquired it, and by those who gave it to him, that he should do so. And then let that be declared in the presence of the king, and of the bishop before his kinsman.

(*Law of King Alfred.*)

(*b*) And let the king be entitled to every one of the "wites" [fines] that those men incur who have boc-land.

(*Law of King Ethelred.*)

(*c*) And whoever does a deed of outlawry . . . if he have boc-land let that be forfeited into the king's hand; be he man of whatever man he may.

(*Law of King Canute.*)

(*d*) And the man who shall flee from his lord or from his comrade, by reason of his cowardice, be it in the ship- "fyrd" be it in the land- "fyrd" [military service]; let him forfeit

all that he owns, and his own life, and let the lord seize his possessions, and his land, which he previously gave him; and if he have boc-land, let that go into the king's hands.

(*Law of King Canute.*)

36. FOLC-LAND

SOURCE: Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*: Glossary.

Folc-land is the land of the folk or people. It was the property of the community. It might be occupied in common or possessed in severalty; and in the latter case, it was probably parcelled out to individuals in the folc-gemot or court of the district; and the grant sanctioned by the freemen who were then present. But while it continued to be folc-land, it could not be alienated in perpetuity; and therefore, on the expiration of the term for which it had been granted, it reverted to the community and was again distributed by the same authority. . . .

Folc-land was subject to many burthens and exactions from which boc-land was exempt. The possessors of folc-land were bound to assist in the preparation of royal villas, and in other public works. They were liable to have travellers and others quartered on them for sustenance. They were required to give hospitality to kings and great men in their progresses through the country, to furnish them with carriages and relays of horses, and to extend the same assistance to their messengers, followers and servants, and even to the persons who had charge of their hawks, horses and hounds. . . .

Folc-land might be held by freemen of all ranks and conditions.

The same person might hold estates both in boc-land and folc-land. . . . It is probable there were few persons of condition who had not estates of both descriptions. Every one was desirous to have grants of folc-land and to consent as

much of it as possible unto boc-land. Money was given and favour exhausted for that purpose.

Folc-land was assignable to the thegns or military servants of the state as the stipend and reward of their services.

ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS

37. NOTES ON AGRICULTURE IN THE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Giles).

1. *High Price of Corn*

(*a*) In this same year the "sester" [1] of wheat went to fifty-five pence, and even further. (A.D. 1031.)

(*b*) In this year there was a very great famine over all England, and corn so dear as no man before remembered, so that the "sester" of wheat went to sixty pence, and even further. (A.D. 1043.)

(*c*) In this same year were many failures in England, in corn and all fruits, so that between Christmas and Candlemas (February 2nd) the acre seed of wheat, that is, two seedlips,[2] were sold for six shillings; and that of barley, that is, three seedlips, for six shillings; and the acre seed of oats, that is, four seedlips, for four shillings. That was because there was little corn, and the penny was so bad that the man who had at a market a pound could by no means buy therewith twelve pennyworths. (A.D. 1124.)

2. *Failure of Crops*

(*a*) And all that year it was very sad in many and various things, both in tempests and earth fruits. And so much cattle perished in this year as no man before remembered, both through various diseases and through bad weather. (A.D. 1041.)

[1] Probably about 8 bushels.

[2] The basket containing the seed when sowing by hand.

(*b*) And the same year was a very heavy, and toilsome, and sorrowful year in England, through murrain of cattle, and corn and fruits were at a stand, and so great unpropitiousness in weather, as no one can easily think, so great was the thunder and lightning, that it killed many men and ever it grew worse with men more and more. May Almighty God better it, when it shall be His will.

After the birth-tide of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand and seven and eighty winters, in the one and twentieth year after William ruled and held despotic sway over England, as God had granted him there was a very heavy and very pestilent year in this land. Such a malady came on men that almost every other man was in the worst evil, that is with fever, and that so strongly that many men died of the evil. Afterwards there came, through the great tempests which came as we have before told, a very great famine over all England, so that many hundred men perished by death through that famine. Alas! how miserable and how rueful a time was then! When the wretched men lay driven almost to death, and afterwards came the sharp famine and quite destroyed them. Who cannot feel pity for such a time? or who is so hard-hearted that cannot bewail such misfortune? But such things befal for a folk's sins, because they will not love God and righteousness, so as it was in those days, that little righteousness was in this land with any man, save with the monks alone, wherever they fared well. The king and the head men loved much, and over much, covetousness in gold and in silver, and recked not how sinfully it might be got, provided it came to them. The king gave his land as dearly for rent as he possibly could, then came some other and bade more than the other had before given, and the king let it to the man who had bidden him more, then came a third and bade yet more, and the king gave it up to the man who had bidden most of all. And he recked not how very sinfully the reeves got it from

poor men, nor how many illegalities they did, but the more that was said about right law, the more illegalities were done. They levied unjust tolls, and many other unjust things they did, which are difficult to reckon. Also, in the same year, before autumn, the holy monastery of St Paul, the episcopal see of London, was burnt, and many other monasteries, and the greatest and fairest part of the whole city. So also, at the same time, almost every chief town in all England was burnt. Alas! a rueful and deplorable time was it in that year, which brought forth so many misfortunes. . . . (A.D. 1086.)

(*c*) This was a very calamitous year in the land, through manifold imposts, and through murrain[1] of cattle, and perishing of fruits both in corn and also in all tree fruits. (A.D. 1103.)

(*d*) In this year was a very long and sad and severe winter; and thereby were the earth-fruits greatly injured; and there was the greatest murrain of cattle that any man could remember. (A.D. 1111.)

(*e*) This was a very good year and very abundant in wood and in field; but it was a very sad and sorrowful one, through a most destructive pestilence. (A.D. 1112.)

38. CURIOUS NATURAL PHENOMENA IN THE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Giles).

1. *Earthquakes*

(*a*) In this year there was a great earthquake widely throughout England. (A.D. 1048.)

(*b*) In this year was also an earthquake on the Kal. of May [May 1st], in many places, at Worcester, at Wick, and at Derby and elsewhere; and there was also a great mortality

[1] Cattle plague.

among men, and a murrain among cattle; and the wildfire[1] also did much evil in Derbyshire and elsewhere. (A.D. 1049.)

(*c*) There happened over all England a great earthquake, on the day the IIIrd of the Ides of August [August 11th]. And it was a very backward year in corn and fruits of all kinds; so that many men reaped their corn about Martinmas [November 11th] and yet later. (A.D. 1089.)

2. *Severe Winters*

In this same year, after Candlemas, [February 2nd], came the severe winter, with frost and snow, and with all kinds of bad weather, so that there was no man alive who could remember so severe a winter as that was, both through mortality of men and murrain of cattle: both birds and fishes perished through the great cold and hunger. (A.D. 1046.)

3. *High Winds*

(*a*) In this year was the great wind. (A.D. 1039.)

(*b*) In this year was the great wind on Thomas' mass-night [December 21st]; and also all the midwinter there was much wind. (A.D. 1053.)

(*c*) Also in the morning on the mass day of St Laurence [August 10th] the wind did so great harm here in the country to all fruits, as no man remembered that it ever did before. (A.D. 1103.)

(*d*) In this year were very great winds in the month of October; but it was excessively great in the night of the octave of St Martin [November 18th], and that was everywhere manifest in woods and towns. (A.D. 1114.)

4. *Comets*

(*a*) Then was seen over all England such a sight in the heavens as no man ever saw before. Some men said that it

[1] A disease affecting sheep.

was the star Cometa, which some men call the haired star; and it first appeared on the eve of Litania Major, the VIII of the Kal. of May [April 24th] and so shone all the seven nights. (A.D. 1065.)

(*b*) Then on St Michael's mass the IVth of the Nones of October [October 4th] there appeared an extraordinary star, shining in the evening, and soon going to its setting. It was seen in the south-west, and the ray that stood from it seemed very long, shining south-east; and almost all the week it appeared in this wise. Many men supposed that it was a "comet." (A.D. 1097.)

39. HOW ENGLAND FARED UNDER WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, VI (Forester).

In the twenty-first year of the reign of King William, when the Normans had accomplished the righteous will of God on the English nation, and there was no prince of the ancient royal race living in England, and all the English were brought to a reluctant submission, so that it was a disgrace even to be called an Englishman, the instrument of Providence in fulfilling its designs was removed from the world. God had chosen the Normans to humble the English nation, because He perceived that they were more fierce than any other people. For their character is such that when they have so crushed their enemies that they can reduce them no longer, they bring themselves and their own lands to poverty and waste; so that the Norman lords, when foreign hostilities have ceased, as their fierce temper never abates, turn their hostilities against their own people. . . .

In England, at this time, extortionate tolls and most bothersome taxes were multiplied, and all the great lords were so blinded by an inordinate desire of amassing wealth, that it might be truly said of them, "Whence it was got no

one asked, but get it they must; the more they talked of right, the more wrong they did." Those whose title was justiciaries were the fountain of all injustice. The sheriffs and judges, whose office it was to administer the law, were more greedy than thieves and robbers, and more violent than the most desperate culprits. The king himself, when he had let his lands to farm at the dearest rates he could, broke his agreements, and, never satisfied, granted them to anyone who bid higher, and then to another who offered the highest rent; nor did he care what injury his officers inflicted on the poor. . . .

William was the most valiant of all the dukes of Normandy, the most powerful of all the kings of England, more renowned than any of his predecessors. He was wise, but crafty; rich, but covetous; glorious, but his ambition was never satisfied. Though humble to the servants of God, he was obdurate to those who withstood him. Earls and nobles he threw into prison, bishops and abbots he deprived of their possessions; he did not even spare his own brother; and no one dared to oppose his will. He wrung thousands of gold and silver from his most powerful vassals, and harassed his subjects with the toil of building castles for himself. If anyone killed a stag or a wild boar, his eyes were put out, and no one presumed to complain. But beasts of chase he cherished as if they were his children; so that to form the hunting ground of the New Forest he caused churches and villages to be destroyed, and, driving out the people, made it an habitation for deer. When he plundered his subjects, not urged by his wants, but by excessive avarice, however they might curse him in the bitterness of their hearts, he set at naught their muttered revenge. It behoved every one to submit to his will who had any regard for his favour, or for his own money or lands, or even his life. . . .

He was monarch of all England so that there was not a single hide of land in it of which he had not an account of

the owner's name and what it was worth [Domesday Book]. . . . Yet he so firmly preserved the peace, that a girl laden with gold could pass in safety from one end of England to the other. Homicide under whatever pretext was punished by death; violent assaults, by the loss of limbs.

40. THE NEW FOREST [A.D. 1070]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, II.

Whereupon greater burdens were laid upon the English, insomuch that after they had been robbed and spoiled of their goods, they were also debarred of their accustomed games and pastimes. For where naturally (as they do unto this day) they took great pleasure in hunting of deer, both red and fallow, in the woods and forests about without restraint, King William seizing the most part of the same forests into his own hands, appointed a punishment, to be executed upon all such offenders: namely, to have their eyes put out. And to bring the greater number of men in danger of those his penal laws (a pestilent policy of a spiteful mind and savouring altogether of his French slavery) he devised means how to breed, nourish and increase the multitude of deer, and also to make room for them in that part of the realm which lieth between Salisbury and the sea southward: he pulled down towns, villages and churches and other buildings for the space of 30 miles to make thereof a forest, which at this day is called the New Forest. The people as then sore bewailed their distress, and greatly lamented that they must leave house and home to the use of savage beasts.

41. DOMESDAY BOOK [A.D. 1086]

(*a*) INSTRUCTIONS FOR TAKING THE SURVEY

SOURCE: *Inquisitio Eliensis, Domesday Book: Additamenta.*

. . . The King's barons enquire by oath of the sheriff of each shire and of all the barons of the French-born of them

and of the whole hundred, of the priests, the reeve, and six villeins [1] from each town . . . the name of the manor, who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor and who held it now [1086], how many hides [2] there were in each manor, how many ploughs on the domain, how many men, how many villeins, how many cottars, how many bondsmen, how many freemen, how many soc-men,[3] how much wood, how much meadow, how much pasture; what mills, what fish or ponds; what had been added or taken away, what it was worth in the time of King Edward the Confessor, and how much it was worth now; how much each free-holder held; and whether more could be got out of it than now.

(*b*) THE CLOSENESS OF THE SURVEY

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 1083 (Thorpe, Vol. II.)

After this the king had a great council, and very deep speech with his "witan"[4] about this land, how it was peopled, or by what men; then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the king himself had and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also, he caused to be written how much land his archbishop had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots and his earls; and—though I may narrate somewhat prolixly—what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even—it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—an ox, nor cow, nor a

[1] Feudal tenant.
[2] Approximately 100 acres.
[3] One who held land by virtue of service in the lord's court or soke.
[4] Wise men.

swine was left, that was not set down in his writ. And all the writings were brought to him afterwards.

42. THE CURFEW BELL [A.D. 1068]

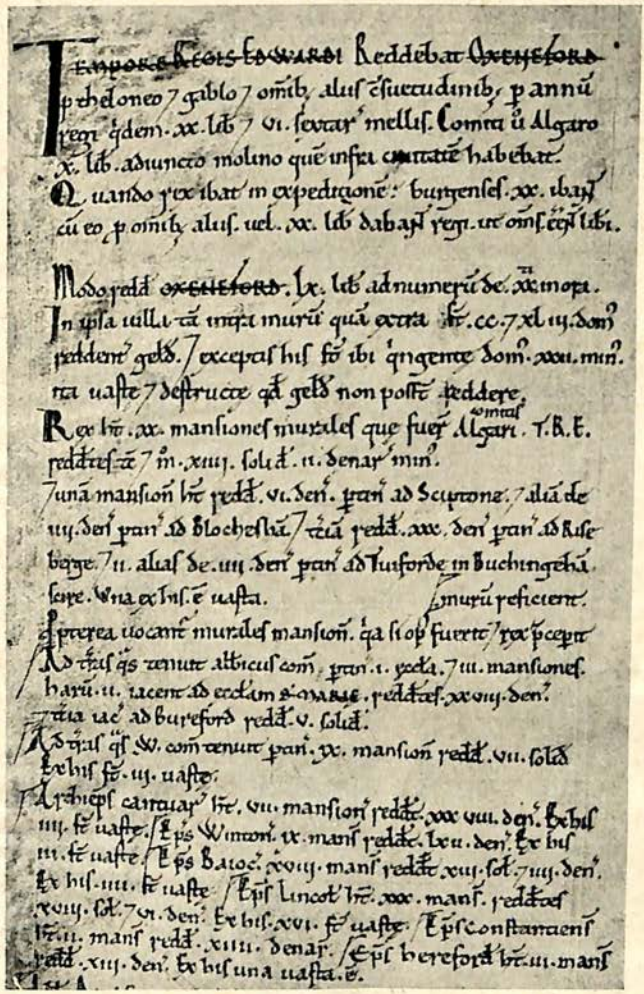
SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, II.

Moreover to reduce the English people the more unto obedience and awe, he [William the Conqueror] took from them all their armour and weapons. He ordained also that the master of every household about eight of the clock in the evening, should cause his fire to be raked up in ashes, his lights to be put out; and then go to bed. Besides this, to the end that every man might have knowledge of the hour to go to rest, he gave order, that in all cities, towns and villages, where any church was, there should a bell be rung at the said hour, which custom is still used even unto this day, and commonly called by the French word, "Couvre feu," that is, "Rake up the fire."

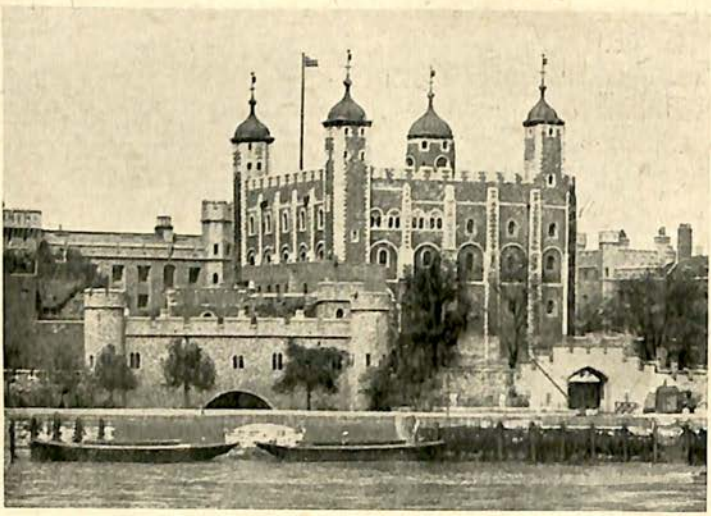
43. RESULTS OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, III (Giles).

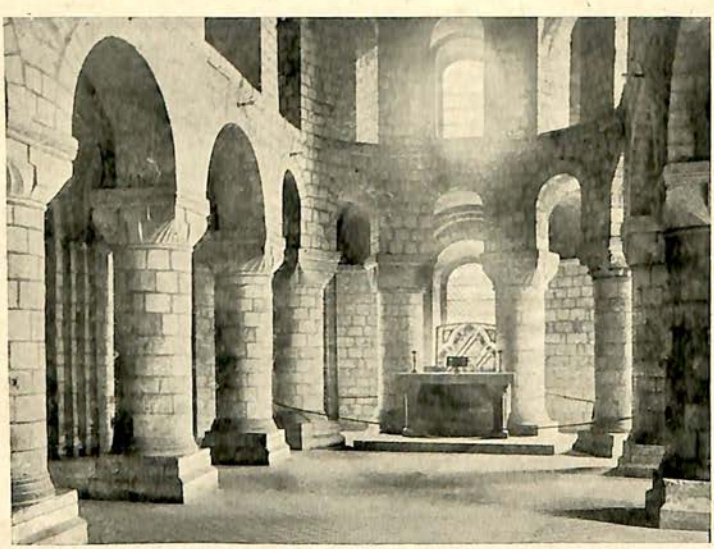
This was a fatal day to England, a melancholy hour of our dear country, through its change of masters. For it had long since adopted the manners of the Angles, which had been very various according to the times: for in the first years of their arrival, they were barbarians in their look and manners, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rites; but, after embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees, and in process of time, from the peace they enjoyed, regarding arms only in a secondary light, they gave their whole attention to religion. I say nothing of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bounds of justice: I omit men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect to their profession, and sometimes



Portion of Domesday Book



The White Tower



St John's Chapel in the Tower of London

the fear of shame, suffer not to deviate from the truths: I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure; some of whom, in their own country, and others at Rome, changing their habit, obtained a heavenly kingdom, and a saintly intercourse. Many during their whole lives in outward appearance only embraced the present world, in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor, or divide them amongst monasteries. What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its natives, that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint, besides the numbers of whom all notices have perished through the want of records? Nevertheless, in process of time, the desire after literature and religion had decayed for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; and a person who understood grammar, was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments, and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers. The commonality, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing on their property, or by selling their persons into foreign countries; although it be an innate quality of this people to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth. Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses; unlike the Normans and French, who, in noble and splendid mansions, lived with frugality. The

vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervates the human mind, followed; hence it arose that engaging William, more with rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery, by one, and that, an easy victory. "For nothing is less effective than rashness; and what begins with violence, quickly ceases, or is repelled." In fine, the English at that time wore short garments reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped; their beards shaven; their arms laden with golden bracelets; their skin adorned with punctured designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; as to the rest they adopted their manners. I would not, however, have these bad propensities universally ascribed to the English. I know that many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity, by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation were well-pleasing to God.

Moreover, the Normans, that I may speak of them also, were at that time, and are even now, proudly apparelled, delicate in their food, but not excessive. They are a race inured to war and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy; and where strength fails, ready to use stratagem or to corrupt by bribery. As I have related, they live in large edifices with economy; envy their equals; wish to excel their superiors; and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offence renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money. They are, however, the kindest of nations, and they esteem strangers worthy of equal honour with themselves. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived by their arrival the observances of religion which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You

might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated sites; so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he had neglected to signalise by some magnificent action.

44. A PICTURE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR [A.D. 1087]

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Thorpe).

If any one desires to know what kind of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he was lord, then we will write of him so as we understand him who have looked on him, and at another time, sojourned in his court. The King William, about whom we speak, was a very wise man, and very powerful, more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good man who loved God; and over all measure severe to the men who gainsayed his will. On that same stead, on which God granted him that he might subdue England, he reared a noble monastery, and there placed monks, and well endowed it. In his days was the noble monastery at Canterbury built, and also very many others over all England. This land was also plentifully supplied with monks, and they lived their lives after the rule of St Benedict. And in his day Christianity was such that every man who would, followed what belonged to his condition. He was also very dignified, thrice every year he bare his crown, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in Winchester, at Pentecost in Westminster, at Midwinter in Gloucester. And then were with him all the great men over all England, archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. So also was he a very rigid and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will. He had

earls in his bonds, who had acted against his will, bishops he cast from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into prison, and at last he spared not his own brother named Odo: he was a very rich bishop in Normandy, at Bayeux was his episcopal see, and he was the foremost man besides the king, and he had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful in this land: and him he set in prison. Among other things is not to be forgotten the good peace that he made in this land, so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm, with his bosom full of gold, unhurt. Nor durst any man slay another man, had he done ever so great evil to the other. . . .

He reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who had it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ. Brytland [Wales] was in his power, and he therein wrought castles, and completely ruled over that race of men. In like manner he also subjected Scotland to him by his great strength. The land of Normandy was naturally his, and over the county which is called De Maine he reigned, and if he might yet have lived two years he would, by his valour, have won Ireland, and without any weapons. Certainly in his time men had great hardship and very many injuries. Castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. The king was so very rigid, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, which he took, by right and with great unright, from his people, for little need. He had fallen into covetousness, and altogether loved greediness. He planted a great preserve for deer, and he laid down laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind should be blinded. He forbade the harts and also the boars to be killed. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He also ordained con-

cerning the hares, that they should go free. His great men bewailed it, and the poor men murmured thereat, but he was so obdurate, that he recked not of the hatred of them all; but they must wholly follow the king's will, if they would live, or have land, or property, or even his peace. Alas! that any man should be so proud as to raise himself up, and account himself above all men! May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins! These things we have written concerning him, both good and evil, that good men may imitate their goodness, and wholly flee from the evil, and go in the way that leads us to the kingdom of heaven.

45. COURT LIFE—WILLIAM II.'s TIME [A.D. 1098]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, IV, I (Giles).

The sacred honours of the church, as the pastors died, were exposed to sale: for whenever the death of any bishop or abbot was announced, directly one of the king's clerks was admitted, who made an inventory of everything, and carried all future rents into the royal exchequer. In the meantime, some person was sought out fit to supply the place of the deceased; not from proof of morals, but of money; and at last, if I may so say, the empty honour was conferred, and even that purchased, at a great price. These things appeared the more disgraceful, because, in his father's time, after the decease of a bishop or abbot, all rents were reserved entire, to be given up to the succeeding pastor; and persons truly meritorious, on account of their religion were elected. But in the lapse of a very few years, everything was changed. There was no man rich except the money-changer; no clerk, unless he was a lawyer; no priest, unless he was a farmer. Men of the meanest condition or guilty of whatever crime, were listened to, if they

could suggest anything likely to be advantageous to the king; the halter was loosened from the robber's neck, if he could promise any emolument to the sovereign. All military discipline being relaxed, the courtiers preyed upon the property of the country people, and consumed their substance, taking the very meat from the mouths of these wretched creatures. Then was there flowing hair and extravagant dress; and then was invented the fashion of shoes with curved points; then the model for young men was to rival women in delicacy of person and to mince their gait.

46. THE EFFECT OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT [A.D. 1096]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, IV, II (Giles).

This ardent love not only inspired the continental provinces, but even all who had heard the name of Christ, whether in the most distant islands, or savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish. Lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants, even whole cities migrated. There was no regard to relationship, affection to their country was held in little esteem; God alone was placed before their eyes. Whatever was stored in granaries or hoarded in chamber, to answer to the hopes of the avaricious husbandman, or the covetousness of the miser, all, all was deserted; they hungered and thirsted after Jerusalem alone. Joy attended such as proceeded; while grief oppressed those who remained. But why do I say remained? You might see the husband departing with his wife, indeed, with all his family, you would smile to see the whole household laden on a carriage, about to proceed on their journey. The road was too narrow for the passengers, the path too confined for the

travellers, so thickly were they thronged with endless multitudes. The number surpassed all human imagination, though the itinerants were estimated at six millions.[1]

47. NORMAN MEAL TIMES

SOURCE: Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, IV (Forester).

Such was his [Hardecanute's] liberality that tables were laid four times a day with royal sumptuousness for his whole court, preferring the fragments of the repast should be removed after those invited were satisfied, than that such fragments should be served up for the entertainment of those who were not invited. In our time it is the custom whether from parsimony, or, as they themselves say from fastidiousness, for princes to provide only one meal-day for their court.

48. SOME REGULATIONS AFFECTING PRIESTS [A.D. 1102]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicles*, Vol. II.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council at Westminster. . . . Divers constitutions were made by authority of this council. . . .

(1) That priests should no more be suffered to have wives. . . .

(2) That no spiritual person should have the administration of any temporal office or function, nor sit in judgment of life and death.

(3) That priests should not haunt ale houses, and further, that they should wear apparel of one manner of colour, and shoes after a comely fashion: for a little before that time, priests used to go very unseemly.

(4) That no archdeanconries should be let to farm.

[1] Like most medieval computations this figure is absurd, and indeed the whole passage is piously exaggerated.

(7) That no priests' sons should succeed their fathers in their benefices.

(10) That no tithes should be given but to the church.

(11) That no benefices should be bought or sold.

(14) That abbots should not be made knights or men of war, but should sleep and eat within the precinct of their own house. . . .

(16) That no monks should be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any man's child.

(19) That contracts made between man and woman without witnesses concerning marriage should be void if either of them denied it.

(20) That such as did wear their hair long should be nevertheless so rounded, that part of their ears might appear.

(22) That the bodies of the dead should not be buried but within their parishes.

(24) That there should be no more buying and selling of men used in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been kine or oxen.

49. A MINIATURE ZOO [A.D. 1119]

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, V (Giles).

Paul, Earl of Orkney, though subject by hereditary right to the King of Norway, was so anxious to obtain the king's [Henry I.'s] friendship, that he was perpetually sending him presents; for he was extremely fond of the wonders of distant countries, begging with great delight, as I have observed, from foreign kings, lions, leopards, lynxes or camels—animals which England does not produce. He had a park called Woodstock, in which he used to foster his favourites of this kind. He had placed there also a creature called a porcupine, sent to him by William of Montpelier, of which animal, Pliny the Elder, in the eighth book of his

Natural History, and Isodorus, on Etymologies, relate that there is such a creature in Africa, which the inhabitants call of the urchin kind, covered with bristly hair, which it naturally darts against the dogs when pursuing it; moreover these are, as I have seen, more than a span long, sharp at each extremity, like the quills of a goose where the feather ceases, but rather thicker, and speckled, as it were, with black and white.

50. COURT FASHIONS IN HENRY I.'s REIGN

SOURCE: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, V (Giles).

In his twenty-eighth year, the king [Henry I.] returned from Normandy; in his twenty-ninth, a circumstance occurred in England which may seem surprising to our long-haired gallants, who, forgetting what they were born, transform themselves into the fashion of females, by the length of their locks. A certain English knight, who prided himself on the luxuriousness of his tresses, being stung by conscience on the subject, seemed to feel in a dream as though some person strangled him with his ringlets. Awaking in a fright, he immediately cut off his superfluous hair The example spread throughout England; and, as scant punishment is apt to affect the mind, almost all military men allowed their hair to be cropped in a proper manner without reluctance. But this decency was not of long continuance, for scarcely had a year expired ere all who thought themselves courtly, relapsed into their former style; they vied with women in the length of locks, and wherein they were defective, put on false tresses; forgetful, or rather ignorant, of the saying of the apostle, "If a man nurture his hair, it is shame to him."

51. BRITAIN IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

SOURCE: *Henry of Huntingdon*, I (Forester).

Britain is truly an island of the utmost fertility, abounding in corn and fruit trees, which are nourished by perennial streams. It is diversified by woods, sheltering birds and beasts of chase, affording merry sport to the hunter. Wild fowl of all sorts are exceedingly plentiful, both those which frequent the water, whether the rivers or the sea. Moreover the island is remarkably adapted for feeding cattle and beasts of burthen; insomuch that Solinus remarks that "in some parts of Britain the herbage of the meadows is so luxuriant that unless the cattle are shifted to poorer pasture there is risk of their suffering from surfeit." The never failing springs feed rivers abounding in fish. Salmon and eels, especially are very plentiful. Herrings are taken on the coasts, as well as oysters and other kinds of shell fish. Among these are the muscles, which produce beautiful pearls, of a great variety of colours, red, purple, violet and emerald; principally, however, white. Nor are the cockles wanting from which a scarlet dye is made, whose exquisite tint does not fade by exposure either to the sun or rain, the older it is the brighter the colour becomes. Dolphins and whales are also caught, as Juvenal says:

> "For as the giant whales of Britain's sea
> Exceed the dolphin."

Britain is also rich in metallic veins of iron, tin, and lead. Some of these contain silver also, though not so commonly; silver, however, is received from the neighbouring parts of Germany, with which an extensive commerce is carried on by the Rhine in the abundant produce of fish and meat, as well as of fine wool and fat cattle which Britain supplies, so that money appears to be more plentiful there than in Germany itself, and all the coins introduced into Britain

by this traffic are of pure silver. Britain, also, furnishes large quantities of very excellent jet, of a black and brilliant hue. Rendered sparkling by fire it drives away serpents; when it becomes heated by friction substances adhere to it, as they do to amber. The island contains both salt-springs and hot-springs and the streams from which supply baths accommodated to the separate use of persons of every age and of both sexes. . . . "For water," as St Basil observes, "acquires the quality of heat by running over certain metals, so that not only it becomes warm, but even scalding hot." . . .

The cities . . . have for their sites pleasant and fertile banks of rivers. Two of these rivers are more celebrated than the rest, the Thames and the Severn; the two arms, as it were, of Britain, by which it draws to itself the produce of other countries and exports its own. But it is peculiar to the English that, being much addicted to foreign travel, they are remarkable for their superior style of dress and living, by which they are easily distinguished from other nations. Since, then, Britain abounds in so many things (even vineyards flourish in it, though they are not common), those who covet its wealth must bring their own in exchange for what they receive. In whose praise someone thus wrote:

> "Corn, milk and honey, fuller shed their stores
> On Britain's plains, than over all the isles
> Where foaming ocean washes sea-girt shores."

And a little afterwards:

> "London for ships, and Winchester for wine,
> Hereford for herds, Worcester for corn renown'd,
> Bath for its waters, Salisbury for the chase;
> For fishes Canterbury: York for its woods;
> Exeter boasts its rich metallic ores.
> Narrow the sea 'tween Chichester and France,
> While northern Durham fronts the surging waves
> On which old Norway launch'd her conq'ring sons

In grace proud Lincoln's children foremost stand,
Ely's high tow'rs the wide champaign command,
Rochester rises bright on Medway's winding strand."

Nor must it be omitted that the climate of Britain is very temperate and healthy to its inhabitants. . . .

There are four things in England which are very remarkable. One is that the winds issue with such great violence from certain caverns in a mountain called the Peak, that it ejects matters thrown into them, and whirling them about in the air carries them to a great distance. The second is Stonehenge, where stones of extraordinary dimensions are raised as columns, and others are fixed above, like lintels of immense portals; and no one has been able to discover by what mechanism such vast masses of stone were elevated, nor for what purpose they were designed. The third is at Cheddor-hole,[1] where there is a cavern which many persons have entered, and have traversed a great distance underground, crossing subterraneous streams, without finding any end of the cavern. The fourth wonder is this, that in some parts of the country the rain is seen to gather about the tops of the hills, and forthwith to fall on the plains.

52. HOW STEPHEN DEALT WITH HIS TURBULENT BARONS [A.D. 1136]

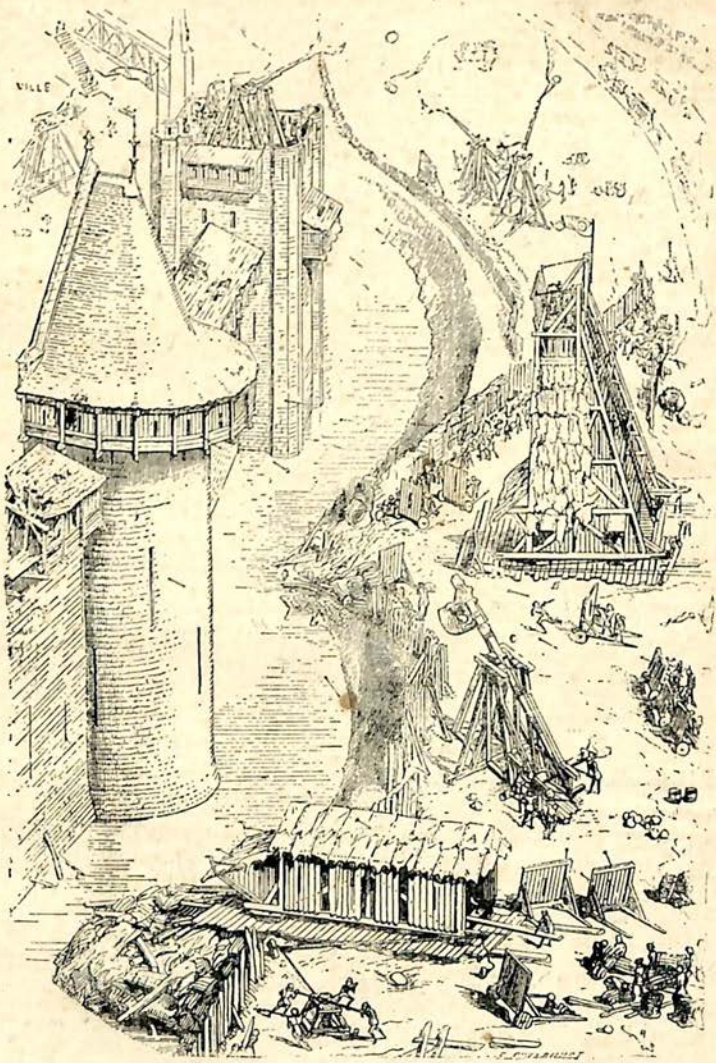
SOURCE: *Acts of King Stephen*, I (Forester).

I

Exeter is a large city, ranking, they say, the fourth in England. It is surrounded by ancient Roman walls, and is famous for its sea fisheries, for abundance of meat, and for its trade and commerce. Its castle stands on a lofty mound protected by impregnable walls, and towers of hewn stone. Baldwin had thrown into it a strong garrison chosen

[1] Wookery Hole in Cheddar Cliffs under the Mendip Hills, Somerset.

"Ely's high towers the wide champaign command"



A Medieval Siege

from the flower of the youth of England, who were bound by oaths to resist the king to the last extremity. Baldwin himself, with his wife and sons, shut himself up in the citadel, prepared for the worst; and the garrison, manning the battlements and towers with glittering arms, taunted the king and his followers as they approached the walls. Sometimes they made unexpected sallies and fell furiously on the royal army; at others they shot arrows and launched missiles against them from above; using all the means in their power to molest the enemy. Meanwhile the king, with his barons, who had accompanied him, and who afterwards gathered their forces and joined his army, made every exertion to press the siege. With a body of foot soldiers heavily armed, he drove the garrison from the outer wall, which was built on a high mound to defend the citadel, and retained possession of it. He also succeeded in breaking down the inner bridge which gave access to the city from the castle, and with surprising address raised lofty wooden towers, from which the defenders of the castle were assailed. Day and night he perseveringly pushed the siege, at one time mounting the hill with his troops, on horseback, and challenging the besieged to the fight, at another causing his slingers to annoy them by hurling stones. He also employed miners to sap the fortifications, and had all manner of machines constructed, some of great height, to overlook what was passing within the garrison, and others on a level with the foundation of the walls which they were intended to batter down. The besieged on their side lost no time in destroying the machines, and all the ingenuity employed in their construction was wasted. Thus the contest was maintained with great vigour and ability on both parts. [The garrison eventually surrendered owing to the water supply failing.]

II

The king raised an army from all parts of England to lay siege to Bedford. Aware of his approach Milo swept off all the provisions he could lay his hands on, making violent seizures both from the townsmen and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood with whom before he had been on good terms, as belonging to his lordship. These supplies he stored in the castle, and securely closing the gates, he for this time excluded the king's people without any loss on his own side, The king, however, after carefully reconnoitring the fortifications, placed under cover bands of archers, at convenient posts, with directions to maintain such a constant discharge of arrows against those who manned the battlements and towers as should prevent their keeping a good look-out and hold them always in a state of confusion. Meanwhile, he exerted all his energies to have engines constructed for filling the trenches and battering the walls. All that skill and ingenuity, labour and expense could compass, was effected. Night watches were posted at all the castle gates to prevent any communication by the besieged to their friends without, or provisions or necessaries being introduced within the fortress. By day, every effort that skill could devise was made to distress and annoy the enemy. But the castle stood on a very high mound, and was surrounded by a solid and lofty wall, and it had a strong and impregnable keep, and contained a numerous garrison of stout and resolute men, so that the expectation of soon taking it proved abortive and the king having other affairs on his hands which required immediate attention, withdrew, leaving the greatest part of his army to carry on the siege. His orders were, that if the engines could not effect the reduction of the place, a blockade should be maintained, till want and hunger compelled its surrender. After the king's departure the besieging army continued their hostilities, till, their provisions

being exhausted and their strength failing, the garrison confessed that they could hold the place no longer. They therefore surrendered it to the king, according to the laws of war.

53. THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND UNDER STEPHEN [A.D. 1141]

SOURCE: *Acts of King Stephen*, II (Forester).

I

At this period England was in a very disturbed state; on the one hand, the king and those who took his part grievously oppressed the people, on the other, frequent turmoils were raised by the Earl of Gloucester; and, what with the tyranny of the one, and the turbulence of the other, there was universal turmoil and desolation. Some for whom their country had lost its charm, chose rather to make their abode in foreign lands; others drew to the churches for protection, and constructing mean hovels in their precincts, passed their days in fear and trouble. Food being scarce, for there was a dreadful famine throughout England, some of the people disgustingly devoured the flesh of dogs and horses; others appeased their insatiable hunger with the garbage of uncooked herbs and roots; many, in all parts, sunk under the severity of the famine and died in heaps; others with their whole families went sorrowfully into voluntary banishment and disappeared. There were seen famous cities deserted and depopulated by the death of their inhabitants of every age and sex, and fields white for the harvest, for it was near the season of autumn, but none to gather it, all having been struck down by the famine. Thus the whole aspect of England presented a scene of calamity and sorrow, misery and oppression. It tended to increase the evil that a crowd of fierce strangers who had flocked to England in

bands to take service in the war, and who were devoid of all bowels of mercy and feelings of humanity, were scattered among the people thus suffering. In all the castles their sole business was to contrive the most flagitious outrages; and the employment on which all the powers of their malicious minds were bent, was to watch every opportunity of plundering the weak, to foment troubles, and to cause bloodshed in every direction. And as the barons who had assembled them from the remotest districts were neither able to discharge their pay out of their own revenues, nor to satisfy their insatiable thirst for plunder, and remunerate themselves by pillage as they had before done, because there was nothing left anywhere whole and undamaged, they had recourse to the possession of the monasteries, or the neighbouring municipalities or any others which they could send forth troops enough to infest. At one time they loaded their victims with false accusations and virulent abuse; at another they ground them down with vexatious claims and extortions; some they stripped of their property, either by open robbery or secret contrivance, and others they reduced to complete subjection in the most shameless manner. If any one of the reverend monks, or of the secular clergy, came to complain of the exactions laid on church property, he was met with abuse, and abruptly silenced with outrageous threats; the servants who attended him on his journey were often severely scourged before his face, and he himself, whatever his rank and order might be, was shamefully stripped of his effects, and even his garments and driven away, or left helpless, from the severe beating to which he was subjected.

II

SOURCE: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II (Thorpe).

They filled the land full of castles—and filled the castles with devils. They took all those that they imagined had

any property, . . . men and women, . . . and tortured them with unutterable torture unspeakable; many thousands they slew with hunger . . . they robbed and burned all the villages, so that thou mightest fare a day's journey nor ever find a man dwelling in a village nor land tilled. Corn, flesh and cheese, there was none in the land. The bishops were even cursing them, but they cared nought therefor, for they were all forcursed and forsworn and forlorn. . . . Men said openly that Christ slept and His Saints. . . . Such and more than we can say we suffered nineteen winters for our sins.

ENGLAND UNDER THE PLANTAGENETS

54. COURT LIFE IN THE TIME OF HENRY II. [A.D. 1160]

SOURCE: Peter of Blois: *Epistolae* (*Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. Giles, pp. 50 *ff.*).

I often wonder how anyone who has been used to the service of scholarship and the camps of learning can endure the annoyances of a court life. Among courtiers there is no order, no plan, no moderation, either in food, in horse-exercise, or in watchings. A priest or a soldier attached to the court has bread put before him which is not kneaded, nor leavened, made of the dregs of beer; bread like lead, full of bran and unbaked; wine spoiled either by being sour or mouldy—thick, greasy, rancid, tasting of pitch and vapid. I have sometimes seen wine so full of dregs put before noblemen that they were compelled rather to filter than drink it, with their eyes shut and teeth closed.

The beer at court is horrid to taste and filthy to look at. On account of the great demand, meat is sold whether it be fresh or not. The fish one buys is four days old, yet the fact that it stinks does not lessen its price. The servants care nothing whatever whether the unlucky guests became

ill or die, provided they load their masters' tables with dishes. Indeed the tables are sometimes filled with putrid food, and were it not for the fact that those who eat it indulge in powerful exercise, many more deaths would result from it. But if the courtiers cannot have exercise (which is the case if the court stays for a time in town) some of them always are left behind at death's door. . . .

. . . If the king [Henry II.] has decided to spend the day anywhere, especially if his royal will to do so had been publicly proclaimed by a herald, you may be certain that he will get off early in the morning, and by his sudden change of mind will throw everybody's plans into confusion. You may see men running about as though they were mad, urging on the pack-horses, driving chariots one into another, and everything in a state of confusion. From the noise and tumult you might imagine you were in the infernal regions. . . . You may be sure the king will sleep till noon. Pack-horses will be waiting under their loads, the chariots will be standing ready, the couriers falling asleep . . . and everybody grumbling. . . . [The king having finally determined to stay at some place where he had only sufficient accommodation and provisions for himself.] His pleasure seemed to be increased by the straits to which his courtiers were put. After wandering about three or four miles through an unknown forest, and frequently in the dark, we would consider our prayers answered if we found by chance some mean, filthy hut. Often were there fierce and bitter quarrels over these hovels, and courtiers fought with drawn swords for a lodging that it would have disgraced pigs to struggle for. . . .

55. THE SAINTLY LIFE OF THOMAS BECKET [A.D. 1170]

SOURCE: Roger de Hoveden, *Annals*, II, from the translation by H. T. Riley.

As for his life, it was perfectly unimpeachable before God and man. To arise before daybreak did not seem to

him a vain thing, as he knew that the Lord promised a crown to the watchful. For every day he arose before daybreak, while all the rest were asleep, and entering his oratory would pray there for a long time; and then returning, he would awake his chaplains and clerks from their slumbers, and the matins and hours [1] of the day being chanted, devoutly celebrate the mass; and every day and night he received three or five flagellations [2] from the hand of a priest. After the celebration of the mass, every day he re-entered his oratory, and, shutting the door after him, devoted himself to prayer with abundant tears; and no one but God alone knew the manner in which he afflicted his flesh. And thus did he do daily unto his flesh until the hour for dining. . . . He would love to dine among his people, not that he might sate his body with costly food, but that he might make his household cheerful thereby, and that he might fill the poor ones of the Lord with good things, whom according to his means, he daily increased in numbers. And although costly and exquisite food and drink were set before him, still his only food and drink were bread and water. . . . Every day when the Archbishop arose from dinner, unless more important business prevented him, he always devoted himself to reading the Scripture until the hour of vespers, at the time of sunset. His bed was covered with soft coverlets and cloths of silk, embroidered on the surface with gold wrought therein; and while other persons were asleep, he alone used to lie on the bare floor before his bed, repeating psalms and hymns, and never ceasing from prayers, until at last, overcome with fatigue, he would gradually recline his head upon a stone put beneath it in place of a pillow: and thus would his eyes enjoy sleep. . . . His inner garment was of coarse sackcloth made of goat's hair: with which his whole body was covered from the arms down to the knees.

[1] Services performed with chants at certain hours.

[2] Floggings or scourgings for the sake of disciplining the body.

But his outer garments were remarkable for their splendour and extreme costliness, to the end that, thus deceiving human eyes, he might please the sight of God. There was no individual acquainted with this secret of his way of living with the exception of two—one of whom was Robert, canon of Exeter, his chaplain, and the name of the other was Brun, who had charge of his sack-cloth garments, and washed them when necessary; and they were bound by their words and oaths, that during his life, they would disclose these facts to no one.

56. A DESCRIPTION OF LONDON [A.D. 1173]

SOURCE: William Fitz-Stephen, *Descriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londonae*, prefixed to his biography of Thomas Becket. From Morley's edition of Stow's *Survey of London*.

Of the Site Thereof

Among the noble cities of the world that Fame celebrates the City of London, of the Kingdom of the English, is the one seat that pours out its fame more widely, sends to farther lands its wealth and trade, lifts its head higher than the rest. It is happy in the healthiness of its air, in the Christian religion, in the strength of its defences, the nature of its site, the honour of its citizens, the modesty of its matrons, pleasant in sports; fruitful of noble men. Let us look into these things separately. . . .

Of Religion

There is in the church there the Episcopal Seat of St Paul, once it was Metropolitan, and it is thought will again become so if the citizens return into the island, unless perhaps the archiepiscopal title of St. Thomas the Martyr, and his bodily presence, preserve to Canterbury, where it is now, a perpetual dignity. But as St. Thomas has made both cities illustrious,

London by his rising, Canterbury by his setting, in regard of the saint, with admitted justice, each can claim advantage of the other. There are also, as regards the cultivation of the Christian faith, in London and the suburbs, thirteen larger conventual churches, besides lesser parish churches one hundred and twenty-six.

Of the Strength of the City

It has on the east the Palatine Castle,[1] very great and strong, of which the ground plan and the walls rise from a very deep foundation, fixed with a mortar tempered by the blood of animals. On the west are two towers very strongly fortified, with the high and great wall of the city having seven double gates, and towered to the north at intervals. London was walled and towered in like manner on the south, but the great fish-bearing Thames river which there glides, with ebb and flow from the sea, by course of time has washed against, loosened, and thrown down those walls. Also upwards to the west the royal palace is conspicuous above the same river, an incomparable building with ramparts and bulwarks, two miles from the city, joined to it by a populous suburb.

Of Gardens

Everywhere outside the houses of those living in the suburbs are joined to them, planted with trees, the spacious and beautiful gardens of the citizens.

Of Pasture and Tilth

Also, there are, on the north side, pastures and a pleasant meadowland, through which flow river streams, where the turning wheels of mills are put in motion with a cheerful sound. Very near lies a great forest, with woodland pastures,

[1] The Tower.

coverts of wild animals, stags, fallow deer, boars, and wild bulls. The tilled lands of the city are not of barren gravel but fat plains of Asia, that make crops luxuriant, and fill their tillers' barns with Ceres' sheaves.

Of Springs

There are also about London, on the north side, excellent suburban springs, with sweet, wholesome, and clear water that flows rippling over the bright stones, among which Holy Well, Clerken Well, and Saint Clements are frequented by greater numbers, and visited more by scholars and youth of the city when they go out for fresh air on summer evenings. It is a good city indeed when it has a good master.

Of Honour of the Citizens

That City is honoured by her men, adorned by her arms, populous with many inhabitants, so that in the time of slaughter of war under King Stephen, of those going out to muster twenty thousand horsemen and sixty thousand men on foot were estimated to be fit for war. Above all other citizens, everywhere, the citizens of London, are regarded as conspicuous and noteworthy for handsomeness of manners and of dress, at table, and in way of speaking. . . .

Of Schools

In London three principal churches have by privilege and ancient dignity famous schools, yet very often by support of some personage, or of some teachers who are considered notable and famous in philosophy, there are also other schools by favour or permission. On feast days the masters have festival meetings in the churches. Their scholars dispute, some by demonstration, others by dialectics, some recite enthymemes, others do better in using perfect syllo-

gims. Some are exercised in disputation for display, as wrestling with opponents; others for truth, which is the grace of perfectness. Sophists who feign are judged happy in their heap and flood of words. Others paralogise. Some orators, now and then, say in their rhetorical speeches something apt for persuasion, careful to observe rules of their art, and to omit none of the contingents. Boys of different schools strive against one another in verses, and contend about the principles of grammar and rules of the past and future tenses. . . .

Of the Ordering of the City

Those engaged in the several kinds of business, sellers of several things, contractors for several kinds of work, are distributed every morning into their several localities and shops. Besides, there is in London on the river bank, among the wines in ships and cellars sold by the vintners, a public cook shop, there eatables are to be found every day, according to the season, dishes of meat, roast, fried and boiled, great and small fish, coarser meats for the poor, more delicate for the rich, of game, fowls, and small birds. If there should come suddenly to any of the citizens friends, weary from a journey and too hungry to like waiting till fresh food is brought and cooked, with water to their hands comes bread, while one runs to the river bank, and there is all that can be wanted. However great the multitude of soldiers or travellers entering the city, or preparing to go out of it, at any hour of the day or night—that these may not fast too long and those may not go supperless—they turn hither, if they please, where every man can refresh himself in his own way. . . . Outside one of the gates there, immediately in the suburb, is a certain field, smooth (Smith) field in fact and name. Every Friday, unless it be a higher day of appointed solemnity, there is in it a famous show of noble

horses for sale. Earls, barons, knights, and many citizens who are in town, come to see or buy. . . . In another part of the field stand by themselves the goods proper to rustics, implements of husbandry, swine with long flanks, cows with full udders, oxen of bulk immense, and woolly flocks. . . . To this city from every nation under heaven merchants delight to bring their trade by sea. . . . This city . . . is divided into wards, has annual sheriffs for its consuls, has senatorial and lower magistrates, sewers and aqueducts in its streets, its proper places and separate courts for cases of each kind, deliberative, demonstrative, judicial, has assemblies on appointed days. I do not think there is a city with more commendable customs of church attendance, honour to God's ordinances, keeping sacred festivals, almsgiving, hospitality, confirming, betrothals, contracting marriages, celebration of nuptials, preparing feasts, cheering the guests, and also in care for funerals and the interment of the dead. The only pests of London are the immoderate drinking of fools and the frequency of fires. To this may be added that nearly all the bishops, abbots, and magnates of England are, as it were, citizens and freemen of London; having there their own splendid houses, to which they resort, where they spend largely when summoned to great councils by the king or by their metropolitan, or drawn thither by their own private affairs.

Of Sports

Let us now come to the sports and pastimes, seeing it is fit that a city should not only be commodious and serious, but also merry and sportful, . . . but London . . . hath holy plays, representations of torments wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared. Every year also at Shrove Tuesday, that we may begin with children's sports, seeing we all have been children, the schoolboys do bring cocks of the game to their master, and all the forenoon they delight themselves

in cock-fighting, after dinner, all the youths go into the field to play at the ball.

The scholars of every school have their ball, or baton, in their hands, the ancient and wealthy men of the city come forth on horseback to see the sport of the young men, and to take part of the pleasure in beholding their agility. Every Friday in Lent a fresh company of young men comes into the field on horseback, and the best horseman conducteth the rest. Then march forth the citizen's sons, and other young men, with disarmed lances and shields, and there they practise feats of war. Many courtiers likewise, when the king lieth near, and attendants of noblemen, do repair to these exercises, and while the hope of victory doth inflame their minds, do show good proof how serviceable they would be in martial affairs.

In Easter holidays they fight battles on the water, a shield is hung upon a pole, fixed in the midst of a stream, a boat is prepared without oars, to be carried by violence of the water, and in the forepart thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge upon the shield with his lance, if so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, and doth not fall, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed, if so be, without breaking his lance, he runneth strongly against the shield, down he falleth into the water, for the boat is violently forced with the tide, but on each side of the shield ride two boats, furnished with young men, which recover him that falleth as soon as they may. Upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses, by the river's side, stand great numbers to see and laugh thereat.

In the holidays, all the summer the youths are exercised in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields, the maidens trip in their timbrels, and dance as long as they can well see. In winter, every holiday before dinner, the boars prepared for brawn are set to fight, or else bulls and bears are baited.

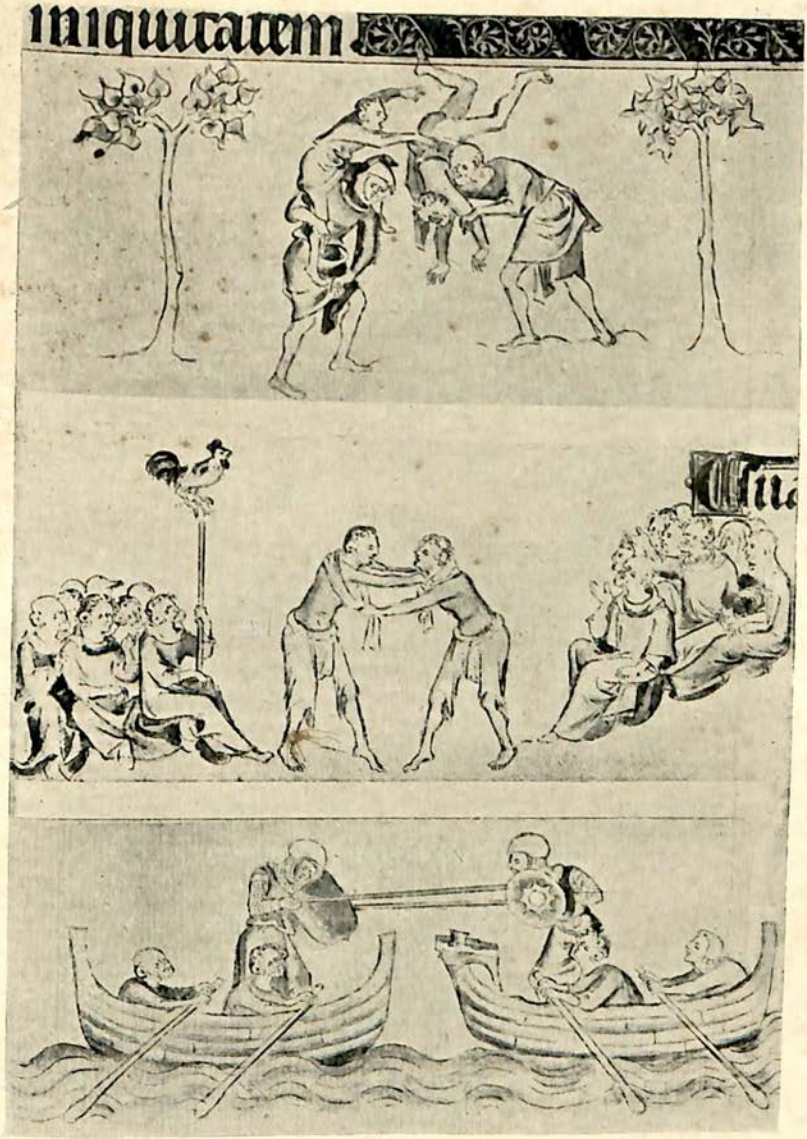
When the great fen, or moor, which watereth the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play upon the ice; some, striding as wide as they may, do slide swiftly; others make themselves seats of ice, as great as millstones; one sits down, many hand in hand to draw him, and one slipping on a sudden, all fall together; some tie bones to their feet and under their heels; and shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a crossbow. Sometime two run together with poles, and hitting on the other, either one or both do fall, not without hurt, some break their arms, some their legs, but youth desirous of glory in this sort exerciseth itself against the times of war. Many of the citizens do delight themselves in hawks and hounds; for they have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all Chiltern, and in Kent to the water of Cray.

57. MONASTIC LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES [*circa* 1180]

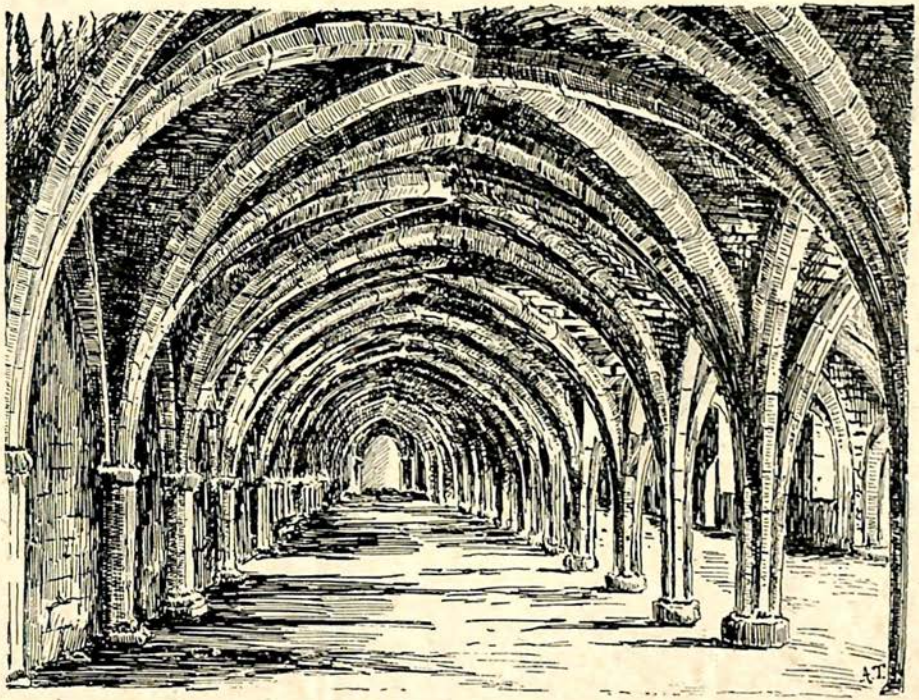
SOURCE: Jocelin of Brakelond's *Chronicle*, translated by Sir E. Clarke.

(*a*) *The Entertainment of Visitors*

In those days the cellarers, as well as other officials, borrowed moneys at interest from Jurnet the Jew (without apprising the convent), upon a security sealed with the above-mentioned seal. Now when the debt had mounted up to sixty pounds, the convent was summoned to pay the cellarer's debt. The cellarer was deposed, although he said it was hard to deal thus with him, stating that for three years he had entertained in the guest house by the abbot's orders, whether the abbot were in residence or not, all the guests which the abbot ought himself to entertain, according to the rule of the abbey. Master Dennis was made cellarer in his stead. . . . Now, on the third day after Master Dennis became cellarer, three



Sports in the Middle Ages



The Cellarium, Fountains Abbey

knights with their esquires were received in the guest house that they might there be refreshed, the abbot then being at home and abiding in his inner chamber; all which, when this great-souled Achilles had heard, not willing to pay toll in his own domain, as the others had done, he rose up and took the key of the cellar, and taking with him those knights to the abbot's hall, and approaching the abbot, said, "My lord, you well know that the rule of the abbey is, that knights and lay folk should be entertained in your hall, if the abbot be at home. I neither will nor can receive those guests whom it belongs to you to entertain; else take back the keys of your cellar, and appoint some other cellarer at your good pleasure." The abbot hearing this, well he entertained those knights, and ever afterwards entertained knights and lay folk according to the ancient rule, and so they are still received when the abbot is at home.

(*b*) *The Election of an Abbot*

At last the prior and the twelve that were with him, after many fatigues and delays, stood before the king [Henry II] at Waltham, the manor of the Bishop of Winchester. . . . The king graciously received them and commanded the brethren by prolocutors . . . that they should nominate three members of our convent. The prior and brethren retiring as if to confer thereupon, drew forth the sealed writing [containing the names of three candidates previously selected by the monks] and opened it and found the names written in this order: Samson, sub-sacrista; Roger, celerarius; Hugo, tercius prior. . . . The king first enquiring whether they were born in his realm, and in whose lordship, said he knew them not, directing that with these three, some other three of the convent should be nominated. This being assented to, William the sacrist said, "Our prior ought to be nominated because he is our head," which was directly

allowed. The prior said, "William the sacrist is a good man"; the like was said of Dennis, and that was settled. These being nominated before the king without any delay, the king marvelled, saying, "These men have been speedy in their work; God is with them."

Next the king commanded that, for the honour of his Kingdom, they should name three persons of other houses. . . . That being done, the king thanked them, and ordered that three should be struck off of the nine; and forthwith the three strangers were struck off. . . . William the sacrist voluntarily retired, two of the five were struck out by command of the king, and, ultimately, one out of the remaining three. There then remained but two, the prior and Samson.

Then at length the before-named prolocutors of our lord the king were called to the council of the brethren: and Dennis, speaking as one for all, began by commending the persons of the prior and Samson, saying, that each of them was learned, each was good, each was of meritorious life and good character. But always in the corner of his discourse he gave prominence to Samson, multiplying words in his praise, saying that he was a man strict in life, severe in reforming excesses, and ready to work hard; heedful, moreover, in secular matters, and approved in various offices. The Bishop of Winchester replied, "We see what it is you wish to say; from your address we gather that your prior seems to have been somewhat remiss, and that, in fact, you wish to have him who is called Samson. . . . Whereupon . . . the majority answered clearly, "We do wish Samson."

Samson was then named to the king, and after a brief consultation with those about him, the king called all in and said, "You present to me Samson, I know him not; had you presented to me your prior, I should have accepted him, because I know and am well acquainted with him; but now I will do as you desire me. Take heed to yourselves;

by the very eyes of God, if you have done ill, I shall call you to severe account." . . .

Then the elect, falling down at the king's feet and kissing them hastily arose, and forthwith went towards the altar, erect in gait, and with unmoved countenance, saying, "Miserere mei Deus," together with his brethren.

The king, observing this, said to the bystanders, "By the eyes of God, this abbot-elect thinks himself worthy to govern an abbey!"

(*c*) *A Business-like Abbot*

The abbot caused inquisition to be made throughout each manor, concerning the annual rents from the freemen, and the names of the labourers and their tenements and the services due from each; and he reduced all to writing. Likewise he repaired their old halls and unroofed houses round which hovered kites and crows. He built new chapels, and likewise inner chambers and upper stories in many places where there never had been any dwelling house at all, only barns. He also enclosed many parks, which he replenished with beasts of chase, keeping a huntsman with dogs; and, upon the visit of any person of quality, sat with his monks in some walk of the wood, and sometimes saw the coursing of the dogs: but I never saw him take part in the sport. He cleared much land; brought it into tillage, in all things looking forward to the benefit likely to accrue to the abbey. . . . Likewise in managing these manors, as well as in other matters, he appointed keepers who were far more careful than their predecessors—some monks, some laymen, to look after us and our lands more carefully. . . . Moreover, by his command, a general survey was made throughout the hundreds . . . of dues and rents and issues, which, for the greater part had ever been concealed by the farmers. He reduced it all to writing, so that within four years from the

time of his election, there was not one who could defraud him of the rents of the abbey to the value of a single penny, whereas he himself had not received from his predecessors any writing touching the management of the abbey, except one small schedule, wherein were the names of the Knights of St Edmund and the names of the manors, and what rent was due on each farm. . . .

(*d*) *The Authority of the Cellarer*

The cellarer was also wont to exercise authority over the ways without the town, so that it was not lawful for any one to dig for chalk or clay without his house. He also was accustomed to summon the fullers of the town, that they should furnish cloth for his salt. . . . Also, whosoever bought corn, or indeed anything from the cellarer, was accustomed to be quit from toll at the gate of the town when he went homewards, wherefor the cellarer sold his produce dearer. Also, the cellarer is accustomed to the toll of flax at the time of its carrying, namely, one truss from each lord. Also, the cellarer alone ought, or at least used to have, a free bull in the fields of the town; now many persons have bulls. . . . The cellarer was also avid where this privilege in the market of this town, that he and his purveyors should have pre-emption of all the provisions for the use of the convent, if the abbot were not at home. Also that the purveyors of the abbot, or cellarer, whichever of them first came into the market, should buy first, either the latter without the former, or the former without the latter. But if both were present, then preference was to be given to the abbot. Also, in the season when herrings were sold, the purveyors of the abbot should always buy a hundred herrings at a halfpenny less than other people. . . .

58. THE LAW OF SANCTUARY [A.D. 1180]

SOURCE: Roger de Hoveden, *Annals*, II (Riley).

"Of the Accused who take Refuge with the Church"

"Whatever accused or guilty person shall flee to a church for the sake of protection, from the time that he shall have reached the porch of such church, he shall on no account be seized by any one pursuing him, except only by the bishop or by his servant. And if, on his flight, he shall enter the house of a priest or his court-yard, he is to have the same security and protection, as he would have had in the church, supposing always that the priests' house and court-yard are standing upon the land of the church. If the person is a thief or burglar, that which he has wrongfully taken, if he has it in his possession, he is to restore, and if he has entirely made away with it, and has anything of his own by which to make restitution, he is to make restitution in full to him whom he has injured. And if the thief has thus acted according to his usual practice, and shall happen to have frequently made his escape to churches and priests' houses, then, after making restitution of what he has taken away, he is to abjure that county, and not to return thereto; and if he does not make restitution, no one is to presume to harbour him, unless with leave granted by the King."

59. BUILDING REGULATIONS IN RICHARD I.'s TIME [A.D. 1189]

SOURCE: From the London Assizes of 1189 or 1212 quoted in Hudson Turner, *History of Domestic Architecture*, Vol. I.

When two neighbours shall have agreed to build between themselves a wall of stone, each shall give a foot and a half of land, and so they shall construct, at their joint cost, a

stone wall three feet thick and sixteen feet in height. And, if they agree, they shall make a gutter between them, to carry off the water from their houses, as they may deem most convenient. But if they should not agree, either of them may make a gutter to carry the water dripping from his house on to his own land, except he can convey it into the high street.

They may also, if they agree, raise the said wall as high as they please, at their joint expense, and if it shall happen that one shall wish to raise the wall, and the other not, it shall be lawful for him who is willing, to raise his own part as much as he please, and build upon it, without damage of the other, at his own cost.

And if any one shall build his own stone wall, upon his own land, of the height of sixteen feet, his neighbour ought to make a gutter under the eaves of the house which is placed on that wall, and receive in it the water falling from that house, and lead it on to his own land, unless he can lead it into the high street.

Also, no one of two parties having a common wall built between them, can, or ought, to pull down any portion of his part of the said wall, or lessen its thickness, or make arches in it, without the assent and will of the other.

And if any one shall have windows looking towards the land of a neighbour, and although he and his predecessors have long been possessed of the view of the aforesaid windows, nevertheless, his neighbour may lawfully obstruct the view of those windows, by building opposite to them on his own ground, as he shall consider most expedient; except he who hath the windows can show any writing whereby his neighbour may not obstruct the view of those windows.

Let it be borne in mind that in former times a great part of the city was built of wood, and the houses were roofed with straw, reeds and such things; so that when any house caught fire, a great part of the city was destroyed by that fire, as

happened in the first year of the reign of King Stephen. For it is written in the chronicles that in a fire which began at London Bridge, St Paul's Church was burnt down, and the fire proceeded thence, burning all the houses and buildings as far as St Clement Danes. Therefore many citizens, to avoid such danger, built according to their means, on their ground, a stone house covered and protected by thick tiles against the fury of fire, whereby it often happened that when a fire arose in the city and burnt many edifices, and had reached such a house, not being able to injure it, it became there extinguished, so that many neighbours' houses were wholly saved from fire by that house.

II

A decree made by the counsel of the citizens, for the setting into order of the city and to provide, by God's help, against fire.

First, they advise that all ale-houses be forbidden, except those which shall be licensed by the common council of the city at Guildhall, excepting those belonging to persons willing to build of stone, that the city may be secure. And that no baker bake, or ale-wife brew, by night, either with reeds or straw or stubble, but with wood only.

III

They advise also that all the cook-shops on the Thames be whitewashed and plastered within and without, and that all inner chambers and hostelries be wholly removed, so that there remain only the house (hall) and bed-room.

Whosoever wishes to build, let him take care, as he loveth himself and his goods, that he roof not with reed, nor rush, nor with any manner of litter, but with tile only, or shingle, or boards, or, if it may be, with lead, within the city and

Portsoken. Also all houses which till now are covered with reed or rush, which can be plastered, let them be plastered within eight days, and let those which shall not be so plastered within the term be demolished by the aldermen and lawful men of the venue.

All wooden houses which are nearest to the stone houses in Cheap, whereby the stone houses in Cheap may be in peril, shall be securely amended by view of the mayor and sheriffs, and good men of the city, or, without any exception, to whomsoever they may belong, pulled down.

The watches, and they who watch by night for the custody of the city shall go out by day and return by day, or they by whom they may have been sent forth shall be fined forty shillings by the city. And let old houses in which brewing or baking is done be whitewashed and plastered within and without, that they may be safe against fire.

Let all the aldermen have a proper hook and cord, and let him who shall not have one within the appointed term be amerced by the city. Foreign workmen who come into the city, and refuse to obey the aforesaid decree, shall be arrested until brought before the mayor and good men to hear their judgment. They say also that it is only proper that before every house should be a tub full of water, either of wood or stone.

60. HOW THE JEWS WERE TREATED [A.D. 1189]

SOURCE: Roger de Hoveden, *Annals*, II (Riley).

While the king [Richard I.] was seated at table [at his coronation banquet], the chief men of the Jews came to offer presents to him, but as they had been forbidden the day before to come to the king's court on the day of the coronation, the common people, with scornful eye and insatiable heart, rushed upon the Jews and stripped them, and then scourging them, cast them forth out of the king's

hall. Among them was Benedict, a Jew of York, who, after having been so maltreated and wounded by the Christians that his life was despaired of, was baptised by William, prior of the Church of St Mary at York, in the church of the Innocents, and was named William, and thus escaped the peril of death and the hands of the persecutors. The citizens of London, on hearing of this, attacked the Jews in the city, and burned their houses; but by the kindness of their Christian friends, some few made their escape. On the day after the Coronation, the king sent his servants, and caused those offenders to be arrested who had set fire to the city; not for the sake of the Jews, but on account of the houses and property of the Christians which they had burnt and plundered, and he ordered some of them to be hanged.

. . . . . .

In the month of March [A.D. 1190] on the . . . sixth day before Palm Sunday, the Jews of the city of York, in number five hundred men, besides women and children, shut themselves up in the tower of York, with the consent and sanction of the keeper of the Tower, and of the sheriff, in consequence of their dread of the Christians; but when the said sheriff and the constable sought to regain possession of it, the Jews refused to deliver it up. In consequence of this, the people of the city, and the strangers who had come within the jurisdiction thereof, at the exhortation of the sheriff and constable, with one consent made an attack upon the Jews.

After they had made assaults upon the tower, day and night, the Jews offered the people a large sum of money to allow them to depart with their lives; but this the others refused to receive. Upon this, one skilled in their laws arose and said: "Men of Israel, listen to my advice. It is better that we should kill one another, than fall into the hands of the enemies of our law." Accordingly, all the Jews, both men as well as women, gave their assent to his advice, and each master of a family, beginning with the chief person of

his household, with a sharp knife first cut the throats of his wife and sons and daughters, and ten of all their servants, and lastly his own. . . . In the meantime, some of the Christians set fire to the Jews' houses and plundered them; and thus all the Jews in the city of York were destroyed, and all acknowledgments of debts due to them were burnt.

61. REGULATIONS REGARDING SEA-FARING MEN
[A.D. 1190]

SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, I.

The king [Richard I.] also made the same time certain ordinances to be observed among the sea-faring men which tended to this effect:

(1) First, that if any man chanced to slay another on the shipboard, he should be bound to the dead body and so thrown into the sea.

(2) Secondly, if he killed him on land, he should yet be bound to him as before, and so buried quick together.

(3) Thirdly, if any man should be convicted by lawful witness, that he drew any weapon to strike any other, or chanced by striking at any man to draw blood of him that was smitten, he should lose his hand.

(4) Fourthly, if he gave but a blow with his fist without bloodshedding, he should be plunged several times over head and ears in the water.

(5) Fifthly, if any man reviled another he should for every time so misusing himself, forfeit an ounce of silver.

(6) Sixthly, that if any man were taken with theft or pickery,[1] and thereof convicted, he should have his head polled, and hot pitch poured upon his pate, and upon that, the feathers of some pillow or cushion shaken aloft, that he might thereby be known for a thief, and at the next arrival of the ship to any land, he put forth of the company to seek his adventures without all hope of return unto his fellows.

[1] Larceny.

62. THE REWARD OF A KING'S JESTER [A.D. 1200]

SOURCE: A letter written by King John and quoted in *King's Letters.*

To William Piculf, and Geoffry, his son.

John, by the grace of God, etc. Know ye, that we have given, and by the present charter have confirmed to William Piculf, our fool, Fonte-Ossanne with all its appurtenances, to have and to hold for himself, and his heirs, on condition of doing henceforward annually for ourself the service of fool, as long as he shall live; and after his decease, his heirs shall hold the same land from us, by the service of one pair of gilded spurs, to be rendered to us annually.

Wherefore, we will and positively command that the foresaid Piculf and his heirs shall have and hold for ever, fairly and in peace, freely and in quiet, the foresaid land, with all its appurtenances, by virtue of the aforesaid service.

63. LONDON AND OTHER TOWNS IN JOHN'S REIGN [A.D. 1204]

SOURCE: Richard of Devizes, *Chronicles of the Crusaders.*

London.

Every race of men, out of every nation which is under heaven, resort thither in great numbers; every nation has introduced into that city its vices and bad manners. No one lives in it without offence: there is not a single street in it that does not abound in miserable, obscene wretches; there, in proportion as any man has exceeded in wickedness, so much is he the better.

I am not ignorant of the disposition I am exhorting; you have, in addition to your youth, an ardent disposition, a slowness of memory and a soberness of reason between extremes. I feel in myself no uneasiness about you, unless you should abide with men of corrupt lives; for from our

associations our manners are formed. But let that be as it may. You will come to London. Behold! I warn you whatever of evil or perversity there is in any, whatever in all parts of the world, you will find in that city alone. Go not to the dances of panders, nor mix yourself up with the herds of houses of ill-repute; avoid the dice, the theatre and the tavern. You will find more braggadacios there than in all France, while the number of flatterers is infinite. Stage players, buffoons, evildoers . . . druggists . . . fortune-tellers, extortioners, nightly-strollers, magicians, mimics, common-beggars, tatterdemalions—this whole crew has filled every house. So if you do not wish to live with the shameful, you will not dwell in London.

I am not speaking against the learned, whether monks or Jews; although, still, from their dwelling together with such evil persons, I should esteem them less perfect there than elsewhere.

Nor does my advice go far, as that you should betake yourself to no city; with my counsel you will take up your residence nowhere but in a town, though it remains to say in what.

Canterbury.

Therefore if you should land near Canterbury, you will have to lose your way, if even you should pass through it. It is an assemblage of the vilest, entirely devoted to their—I know not whom, but who has been lately canonized, and had been the Archbishop of Canterbury, as everywhere they die in the open day in the streets for want of bread and employment.

Rochester and Chichester.

Rochester and Chichester are mere villages, and they possess nothing for which they should be called cities, but the sees of their bishops.

Oxford.

Oxford scarcely, I will not say, satisfies but sustains its clerks.

Exeter.

Exeter supports men and beasts with the same grain.

Bath.

Bath is placed, or rather buried, in the lowest parts of the valleys, in a very dense atmosphere and sulphury vapour as if it were at the gates of Hell.

Worcester, Chester, Hereford.

Nor yet will you select your habitation in the Northern cities, nor in Worcester, Chester, Hereford, on account of the desperate Welshmen.

York.

York abounds in Scots, vile and faithless men, or rather rascals.

Ely.

The town of Ely is always putrefied by the surrounding marshes.

Durham, Norwich, Lincoln.

In Durham, Norwich and Lincoln, there are very few of your disposition among the powerful; you will never hear anyone speak French.

Bristol.

At Bristol there is nobody who is not, or has not been a soap-maker, and every Frenchman esteems soap-makers as he does night-men.

Country Towns.

After the cities, every market, village or town, has but rude and rustic inhabitants. Moreover, at all times, account the Cornish people for such as you know our Flemish are accounted in France. For the rest, the kingdom itself is generally most favoured with the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth: and in every place there are some good, but much fewer in them all than in Winchester alone.

Winchester.

This is in those parts the Jerusalem of the Jews, in it alone they enjoy perpetual peace; it is the school of those who desire to live well and prosper. Here they become men, here there is bread and wine enough for nothing. There are therein monks of such compassion and gentleness, clergy of such understanding and frankness, citizens of such civility and good faith, ladies of such beauty and modesty, that little hinders but I should go there and become a Christian with such Christians. To that city I direct you, the city of cities. The mother of all, the best above all.

There is but one fault, and that alone in which they customarily indulge too much. With the exception, I should say of the learned and of the Jews, the Winchester people tell lies like watchmen, but it is in making up reports. For in no place under heaven so many false rumours are fabricated so easily as there; otherwise they are true in everything.

64. SOME CLAUSES OF MAGNA CARTA [A.D. 1215]

SOURCE: *Magna Carta*: a commentary on the Great Charter of King John, by W. S. M'Kechnie.

I. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present Charter confirmed for us and for our heirs for ever that the English church shall be free and shall have all

her rights entire and her liberties inviolate; and we will that it be thus observed. . . . We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever.

IV. The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods. . . .

V. The guardian, moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, places for live stock, fish ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and he shall restore to the heir when he has come to full age, all his land stocked with ploughs and implements of husbandry, according as the season of husbandry shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear.

VII. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty have her marriage portion and inheritance . . . and she may remain in the house of her husband forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

X. If anyone die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if any children of the deceased are left under age, necessaries shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews.

XII. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom unless by common counsel of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for marrying our eldest daughter; and for these shall not be levied more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be done concerning aids from the citizens of London.

XVI. No one shall be compelled to perform greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement, than is due therefrom.

XXIII. No community or individual shall be compelled to make bridges at river banks, except those who from of old were legally bound to do so.

XXVII. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest kinsfolk and friends, under the supervision of the Church, saving to everyone the debts which the deceased owed to him.

XXVIII. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take corn or other provision from anyone without immediately tendering money therefor, unless he can have postponement thereof by permission of the seller.

XXX. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other person, shall take up the horses or carts of any freeman for transport duty, against the will of the said freeman.

XXXV. Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn, to wit "The London quarter"; and one width of cloth (whether dyes or russet, or halberget), to wit, two ells within the selvedges; of weights also let it be as of measures.

XXXIX. No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested; and we will not set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers by the law of the land.

XL. To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.

XLI. All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to tarry there and to move about as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right custom, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us. And if any such are found in our

land at the beginning of the war, they shall be detained, without injury to their bodies or their goods, until information be received by us, or by our chief justician, how the merchants of our land found in the land at war with us are treated; and if our men are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

XLVIII. All evil customs connected with forests and warrens, foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, river-banks and their wardens shall immediately be inquired into in each county by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by the honest men of the same county, and shall within forty days of the same inquest be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored, provided always that we previously have information thereof, or our justician, if we should not be in England.

65. A WRESTLING MATCH IN THE CITY OF LONDON [A.D. 1222]

SOURCE: Roger of Wendover, *Annals*, II (Giles).

On St James's Day, the inhabitants of the City of London met at the hospital of Queen Matilda, outside the city, to engage in wrestling with the inhabitants of the district round the city, to see which of them was possessed of the greatest strength. After they had contended for a length of time amidst the shouts of both parties, the citizens, having put their antagonists into disorder, gained the victory. Amongst others, the seneschal of the Abbot of Westminster was defeated, and went away in deep deliberation as to how he could revenge himself and his companions. At length he fixed on the following plan of revenge; he offered a prize of a ram on St Peter's Day, and sent word throughout the district for all to come and wrestle at Westminster, and whoever should prove himself the best wrestler should receive

the ram for a prize. He, in the meantime, collected a number of strong and skilful wrestlers, that he might thus gain the victory; but the citizens, being desirous of gaining another victory, came to the sport in great strength. The contest having been commenced by both parties, they continued to throw each other for some time. The seneschal, however, with his suburban companions and fellow-provincials, who sought revenge rather than sport, without any reason flew to arms, and severely beat the citizens, who had come there unarmed, causing bloodshed amongst them.

66. THE COMING OF THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS TO ENGLAND [A.D. 1224]

SOURCE: Thomas of Eccleston, *Chronicle*, translated by Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C.

In the year of the Lord 1224 . . . the Friars Minor [*i.e.* Franciscans], first arrived in England, landing at Dover. They were four clerics and five lay brethren. The clerics were these: first, Brother Agnellus of Pisa, who was in deacon's orders and about thirty years of age. He had been chosen by the blessed Francis to go to England as Minister Provincial. . . . He had been custos of Paris, and had there borne himself with such discretion that both with the brethren and with seculars he was much and rightly esteemed as a man of notable sanctity. The second was Brother Richard of Plymouth, an Englishman by birth, who was both priest and preacher, and more advanced in age. . . . The third was Brother Richard of Devon, also an Englishman. He was in orders an acolyte, and in age a youth. Many examples did he leave us of his stout-heartedness and obedience. For after having travelled by obedience through many provinces, he dwelt continuously at a place called Romney, where, for fifteen years, he was frequently laid low by fevers. . . . The fourth was Brother William of Abby,

who was but a novice. . . . He also was an Englishman and a youth. . . . When Brother Gregory, the Minister of France, asked him whether he would be willing to go to England, he replied that he did not know. At which reply the Minister wondered, until Brother William said that the reasons why he did not know was that his will was not his own but the Minister's and so whatever the Minister willed he willed. . . . Now the lay brethren were these: Brother Henry of Treviso, by birth a Lombard, who, because of his sanctity and remarkable discretion, was afterwards made Guardian of London. . . . The second was Brother Lawrence, who was born at Beauvais. . . . After many labours, and, as I think, through the merits of our holy Father, he came to the haven of rest, London, where he now is, being stricken down with a desperate sickness, and looking forward to the end of so long a weariness. The third lay brother was Brother William of Florence. . . . The fourth was Melioratus. The fifth, Brother James from beyond the Alps, who was as yet but a novice. . . .

These nine having then been charitably conveyed across to England, and cordially provided for in their necessities by the nuns of Fécamp, on arriving at Canterbury sojourned for two days at the priory of the Holy Trinity. Then four of them at once set off for London. . . . The other five went to the Priest's Hospice, where they remained until they found for themselves a dwelling. But very shortly after their arrival they were given a small chamber at the back of a schoolhouse, where from day to day they remained almost continuously shut up. *But when the scholars had gone home in the evening*, the brethren went into the schoolhouse, and there made a fire and sat by it. And sometimes at the evening conference they would put on the fire a small pot in which were the dregs of beer, and they would dip a cup into the pot and drink in turn. . . . One who merited to be a companion and participator in this unblemished simplicity

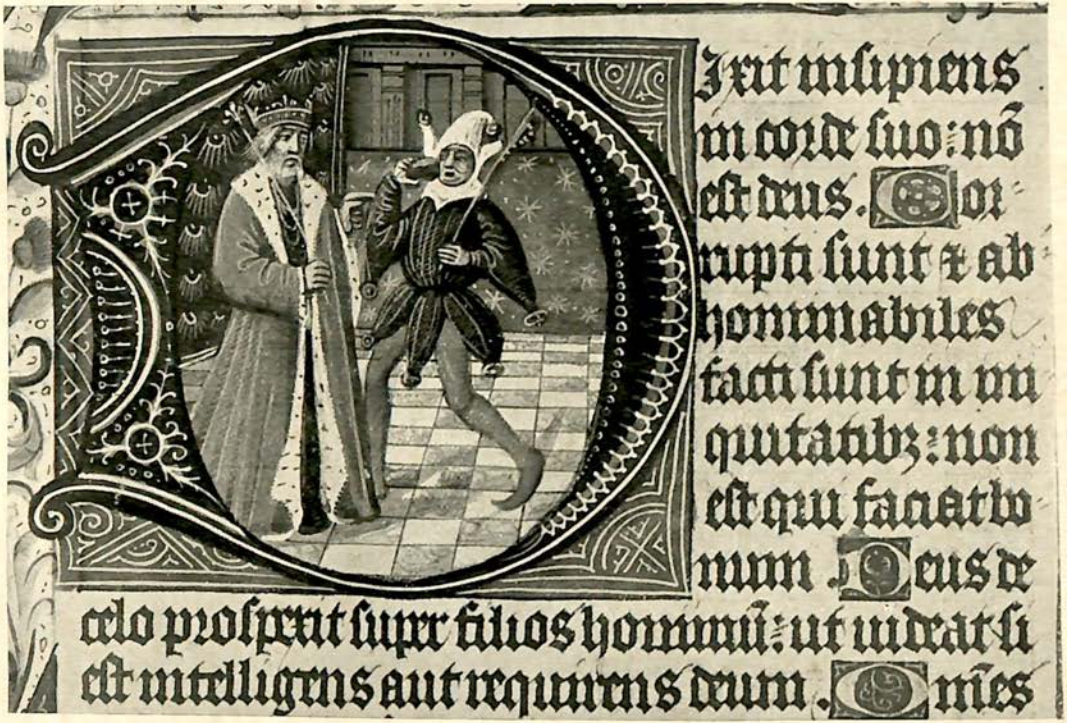
and holy poverty has testified that at times the beer was so thick that when the pot was to be put on the fire they had to put it in water, and so they drank rejoicing. In like manner, at Salisbury, it frequently happened that the brethren had but the dregs of beer to drink, which they drank with much merriment and joy at the hour of conference round the kitchen fire, and he esteemed himself fortunate who could in a friendly way seize the cup from another. . . . In those days so strictly did the brethren avoid contracting debts that hardly in extreme necessity would they become debtors. Thus it happened that Brother Agnellus, with Brother Solomon the Guardian of London, wished to audit the accounts of the brethren in London, to see what were their expenses during one term of the year, but when he saw how the books showed . . . a plentiful increase in neediness he threw from him both books and bills, and . . . never again would he audit the accounts.

67. EXCESSIVE CHARGES FOR LODGINGS AT CAMBRIDGE
[A.D. 1231]

SOURCE: A letter from Henry III. to the Mayor of Cambridge, quoted in *King's Letters.*

The King to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Cambridge:

Greeting. It is well known to you that a multitude of scholars flows together to our city of Cambridge for the sake of study, from various places at home and abroad; which we hold right pleasing and acceptable, as it results in no small profit to our kingdom and honour to ourselves; and, above all, you, amongst whom the students have their daily life, should rejoice and be glad. But we have heard that in letting your lodgings you are so heavy and burdensome to the scholars dwelling amongst you, that unless you behave yourselves more measurably and modestly toward them in this matter of your exactions, they must leave our city, and,



King and Jester

regem francoꝝ. Qui pendebat aũ ver pro
isto mũrio plusquã septuaginta mylia ãy eaꝝ
pro quib; omnib; solat. recepit umbꝫ tales
cũ consolacõnib; ꝓmissiones. Deputa
uit aũ ipsam impẽtem inclusam ꝛ inclut
incarceratã sptonib; ꝛ maurismentissa-
tis ꝛ vetuꝰ larunis cõsimilib; nocte dieq;
stẽtissime custodiendã. ita ut malet pau
per vrimo militi anglico uꝰ franco. mit
moõ indissolubi sociari. De Jnuecc̃one
Crca idem tpꝰ. elicuꝰ ẽdam ꝛ accusacõne
hũricuꝰ clemẽs dẽi ~~nacõne~~ ꝯ bik. comi
hũricuꝰ dũ mun' sapiẽs se gẽ- tẽ ayares
veret iactitando se cãm fuisse mor callum.
tis Rẽ comitis ayarescalli uocando eundẽ

The Marriage of Henry III

having abandoned the University, depart from our land, which we in no respect desire. And therefore we command you firmly, enjoining you that, concerning the letting of the aforesaid lodgings, and keeping yourselves in measure according to the custom of the University, you should estimate the aforesaid lodgings, by two masters and two good legal men of your town, and according to their estimate should permit them to be hired; thus bearing yourselves in this matter, ye may be held safe; for that if any complaint should arrive to us, we should put our hand to the matter.

Witness the king at Oxford, the third day of May. [1231.]

68. THE PAGEANT OF A KING'S MARRIAGE [A.D. 1236]

SOURCE: Matthew Paris, *English History*, II (Giles).

There were assembled at the king's [Henry III.'s] nuptial festivities such a host of nobles of both sexes, such number of religious men, such crowds of the populace, and such a variety of actors, that London, with its capacious bosom, could scarcely contain them. The whole city was ornamented with flags and banners, chaplets and hangings, candles and lamps, and with wonderful devices and extraordinary representations and all the roads were cleaned from mud and dirt, sticks and everything offensive. The citizens, too, went out to meet the king and queen, dressed out in their ornaments, and vied with each other in trying the speed of their horses. On the same day, when they left the city for Westminster, to perform the duties of butler to the king (which office belonged to them by right of old, at the coronation), they proceeded thither dressed in silk garments, with mantles worked in gold, and with costly changes of raiment, mounted on valuable horses, glittering with new bits and saddles, and riding in troops arranged in order. They carried with them three hundred and sixty

gold and silver cups, preceded by the king's trumpeters and with horns sounding, so that such a wonderful novelty struck all who beheld it with astonishment. . . . The Earl of Chester carried the sword of St Edward, which was called "Curtem," before the king, as a sign that he was earl of the palace, and had by right the power of restraining the king if he should commit an error. The Earl was attended by the Constable of Chester, and kept the people away with a wand when they pressed forward in a disorderly way. The grand marshal of England, the Earl of Pembroke, carried a wand before the king and cleared the way before him both in the church and in the banquet hall and arranged the banquet and the guests at table. The wardens of the Cinque Ports carried the pall over the king, supported by four spears, but the claim to this duty was not altogether undisputed. The Earl of Leicester supplied the king with water in basins to wash before his meal; the Earl Waremore performed the duty of king's cupbearer, supplying the place of the Earl of Arundel, because the latter was a youth and not as yet made a belted knight. Master Michael Belet was butler *ex officio*; the Earl of Hereford performed the duties of marshal of the king's household, and William Beauchamp held the station of almoner. The justiciary of the forests arranged the drinking cups of the table at the king's right hand, although he met with some opposition, which however fell to the ground. The citizens of London passed the wine about in all directions, in costly cups, and those of Winchester superintended the cooking of the feast. . . . The ceremony was splendid with the gay dresses of the clergy and knights who were present. The abbot of Westminster sprinkled the holy water, and the treasurer, acting as sub-dean, carried the paten. . . .

Why describe the abundance of meats and dishes on the table? the quantity of venison, the variety of fish, the joyous sounds of the glee-men, and the gaiety of the waiters?

Whatever the world could afford to create pleasure and magnificence was there brought together from every quarter.

69. AN EDUCATED LADY IN NORMAN TIMES

SOURCE: Guy of Warwick, quoted from Dale, *National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature.*

Gentil she was, and as demurë
As ger-fauk, or falcon to lurë
That out of mewë were y-drawë,
So fair was none, in soothë sawë!
She was thereto courteous, and free, and wise
And in the seven arts learnëd withouten miss.
Her masters were thither come
Out of Thoulousë, all and some,
White and hoar all they were;
Busy they were that maiden to lere.
And her lerëd of astronomy,
Of ars-metrick, and of geometry;
Of sophistry she was also witty,
Of rhetorick, and of other clergy.
Learned she was in musick:
Of clergy was her none like.

70. THE PROPHECIES OF ROGER BACON, THE PHILOSOPHER [A.D. 1250]

SOURCE: Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, quoted in Vol. I. of Macfarlane and Thomson, *Comprehensive History of England.*

(The following extracts from his *Opus Majus* illustrate the almost prophetic anticipation of what are generally considered as modern discoveries.)

1. A vessel may be so constructed, and oars therein so disposed, as to make more way with one man in her than another vessel fully manned.

2. It is possible to make a chariot which, without any assistance of animals, shall move with that irresistible force which is ascribed to those scythed chariots in which the ancients fought.

3. It is possible to make instruments for flying, so that a man sitting in the middle thereof, and steering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to answer the end of wings, so as to divide and pass through the air.

4. We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please, and thus from an incredible distance we may read even the smallest letters, and number the grains of dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see them; and we may manage so as hardly to see bodies when near us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we cause them to be seen; for vision of this sort is not a consequence of distance, except as that affects the magnitude of the angle. And thus a boy may seem a giant, and a man a mountain.

71. A THIRTEENTH CENTURY MANOR HOUSE [A.D. 1256]

SOURCE: Historical MSS. Commission Reports 9, I, quoted in Robinson's *Readings in European History*, Vol. I.

Robert le Moyne, Treasurer of St Paul's received from the Dean and Chapter of that church "a sufficient and handsome hall well ceiled with oak. On the western side is a worthy bed, on the ground a stone chimney, a wardrobe,[1] and a certain other small chamber; at the eastern end is a pantry and a buttery. Between the hall and the chapel is a side room. There is a suitable chapel covered with tiles, a portable altar and a small cross. There are four tables on trestles in the hall. Likewise too, there is a good kitchen well covered with tiles, with a furnace and ovens, one large, the other small, for cakes, two tables, and alongside the kitchen a small house for baking. A new granary, too, covered with oak shingles, and a building in which the

[1] As usually in the Middle Ages this denotes a W.C.

dairy is contained, though it is divided. Likewise a chamber suited for clergymen and a necessary chamber. Also a henhouse. These are within the inner gate. Likewise, outside of that gate are an old house for the servants. a good stable, long and divided, and to the east of the principal building, beyond the smaller stable, a solar[1] for the use of the servants. Also a building in which is contained a bed; also two barns, one for wheat and one for oats. These buildings are enclosed with a moat, a wall and a hedge. Also beyond the middle gate is a good barn, and a stable for cows and another for oxen, these are old and dilapidated. Also beyond the outer gate is a pigstye."

72. THE DUTIES OF THE CINQUE PORTS [A.D. 1260]

SOURCE: Hakluyt, *Voyages.*

The *Book of Domesday*, before remembered, chargeth Dover with twenty vessels at sea, whereof each to be furnished with one-and-twenty men for fifteen days together: and saith further, that Romney and Sandwich answered the like service. (After discussing the term "like service," and coming to no definite conclusion, Hakluyt proceeds): and therefore, leaving it as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proof. At first I will have recourse to King Edward the First, his charter, in which I read that, "At each time that the king passeth over the sea, the Ports ought to rig up fifty-and-seven ships (whereof every one to have twenty armed soldiers) and to maintain them at their own costs, by the space of fifteen days together." And thus it stood with the Ports for their general charge, in the sixth year of his reign, for then was this charter sealed.

But as touching the particular burden of each one, I have seen two divers testimonies, of which the first is *A Note in*

[1] Usually an upper room.

French (bearing the countenance of a Record), and entitled to have been renewed in the two-and-twentieth year of the reign of the same king, by Stephen Penchester, then Constable of Dover Castle. . . . The other is *A Latin Custumall* of the *Town of Hythe*, the which, although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit. It standeth thus:

"These be the Five Ports of our soveriegn lord the king, having liberties which other Ports have not: Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes."

The Services due by the Same.

Hastings shall finde twenty-one ships, in every ship twenty-one men, Garcien or Boy, which is called a Gromet. . . .

Romney. Five ships, in every ship twenty-one men, and a Garcien. . . .

Hythe. Five ships, as Romney before. . . .

Dover. Twenty-one ships, as Hastings before.

Sandwich. Five ships, as Romney and Hythe.

Summe of ships, 57.

Summe of the men, 1187, and 57 Garciens.

This service the Barons of the Five Ports doe acknowledge to owe the king, upon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of fifteen days together, at their own cost and charges, accounting that for the first day of the fifteen in which they shall spread their sails to go towards those parts that the king intendeth: and to serve so long after fifteen days as the king will, at his own pay and wage.

NOTES ON SOURCES

Ælfric (called Grammaticus), a writer who flourished about A.D. 1006. He was a pupil of the Bishop of Winchester, and eventually became an abbot. His *Colloquium*, from which the extracts in No. 24 have been taken, is a dialogue between teacher and pupils, and is interesting for the glimpse it gives of the social conditions of the period.

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England is, as its name indicates, a collection of the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, together with those of Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Henry I. This collection was made by Benjamin Thorpe and published in 1840. Thorpe, who was born in 1782 and died in 1870, was the editor of several Anglo-Saxon texts, including the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which, with a translation, he edited in the Rolls Series.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the oldest historical work written in any Germanic language, and is the basis of most of our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon history from the year 732 onward" (Gross). "No other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted" (Thorpe). It was probably begun at Winchester as a mere list of kings and bishops, developing later into a compilation from monastic registers, until it expanded into a historical narrative. The Peterborough version of the *Chronicle* continues until the year A.D. 1154.

Asser, a monk attached to the monastery of St David's and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne. In A.D. 855 King Alfred invited him to his Court on account of the fame of his learning, and Asser assisted the king in his studies. His *Life of Alfred* gives an interesting account of the great king, though the authenticity of the work as a whole has been questioned by competent critics.

Bacon, Roger, philosopher, was born in Somersetshire—tradition says near Ilchester—about 1214. He took his M.A. degree at Oxford and acquired fame by his lectures. He afterwards proceeded to Paris, and by his lectures and writings increased the reputation he had already made. He joined the order of the Franciscan Friars, and when, in 1257, his lectures were interdicted at Oxford and he was ordered to return to Paris, he devoted himself to investigation and experiments in physics, especially

optics, making lenses, constructing mathematical tables and instructing boys in mathematics, sciences, and languages. In 1266 he was brought to the notice of the Pope, and under his patronage began his *Opus Majus*, which foreshadowed some of the most recent inventions of modern times. His independence of thought, as evidenced in his writings, led to his imprisonment in 1278. He died in 1294.

Bede the Venerable, the greatest name in the ancient literature of England, was born about A.D. 673 at Monkwearmouth in Durham. He studied at the Benedictine monastery there, and afterwards proceeded to the monastery at Jarrow. Here he devoted himself to study, and his industry was amazing. Besides Latin and Greek classical as well as theological literature, he studied Hebrew, medicine, astronomy, and prosody. His writings as will be seen from his own account on page 24 covered a wide range of subjects, of which his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* is the most valuable. The greater part of our knowledge of the later period of English History treated of by Bede is derived from him. King Alfred translated this work into Anglo-Saxon. He died in A.D. 735, and was buried at Jarrow, but in the eleventh century his bones were removed to Durham.

Beowulf, the name of an Old English poem of epic character, which relates the heroic deeds of Beowulf, a fabulous prince, especially his struggle with Grendel, a grisly monster of the fens, and later with a dragon. The poem in its present form may be assigned to an early period of the eighth century, but opinions differ as to the date and authorship of the original composition.

Blois, Peter of, was descended from a noble Breton family, and after studying at Paris was invited to England by Henry II. He held various clerical appointments, and eventually became Archdeacon of London. His letters, many of which are extant, are valuable for the information they contain with regard to the politics and customs of the time. He died before 1212.

Brakelond, Jocelin of, a monk of the monastery of St Edmunds, whose picture of monastic life in the twelfth century "is worth a thousand chronicles." So much did Carlyle think of this work and of the portrait of Abbot Samson therein portrayed that he devoted seventeen chapters of Bk. II. of his *Past and Present* to a study of the Abbot and the lesson which could be learned from him. Very little is known of Jocelin except what is to be discovered from his *Chronicle*. He became a monk in 1173, and in 1215 he was the almoner of the Abbey.

Cæsar, Gaius Julius (100-44 B.C.), the great Roman general who conquered Britain. It was during his conquest of Gaul that his attention was drawn to Britain, and from his *de Bello Gallico* a great deal of valuable information has come down to us with regard to the condition of this country at the

time of his arrival. Cæsar ultimately achieved the highest honours that Rome had to offer, but was eventually assassinated.

Cirencester, Richard of, a monk of St Peter's in Westminster, who died in the year 1400.

Devizes, Richard of, the author of a chronicle of the earliest years of the reign of Richard I. The style is vivacious, and "it supplies details nowhere else to be found regarding the condition of England during the first years of Richard's reign" (Gross).

Diodorus Siculus (44 B.C.), born in Sicily, travelled in Asia and Europe, and lived in Rome. For thirty years he was collecting his materials for the history of the world in forty books, from the Creation to Cæsar's Gallic wars. Fragments only of this immense mass of material remain.

Eccleston, Thomas of, an English friar who chronicled the settlement of the Franciscan Friars in England. Very little is known of him except what is gleaned from his interesting *Chronicle*, which was probably written about 1258. "He gives us what no other writer, less simple and zealous, would have cared or perhaps been willing to give—a clear, unvarnished picture of the friars in their poverty" (Brewer).

Fitz-Stephen, William (d. 1191), a monk of Canterbury, who witnessed the murder of Becket. He wrote a *Life of Becket* to which was prefixed the remarkable description of London which is given on p. 80.

Hakluyt, Richard, of Dutch descent, was born about 1552 in Herefordshire. After being educated at Westminster and Christchurch, Oxford, he took holy orders and became Lecturer on Cosmography at Oxford. He resided for some years in Paris, and afterwards became Prebendary of Westminster. His great work, commonly known as Hakluyt's *Voyages*, was published in 1589, and enlarged in 1598-1600, and is a wonderful record of the "Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation." He died in 1616 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Holinshed, Raphael (d. *circa* 1580), the author of *Chronicles* which furnished Shakespeare with much of his knowledge of English history. The work as it has come down to us consists of (1) a description of England followed by the history of the country down to the Conquest; (2) a description of Ireland, followed by the chronicles of that island; (3) a description of Scotland, followed by a history of that country down to 1575; (4) the history of the English kings to 1577. Holinshed had the assistance of some of the most learned men of his time, including William Harrison, whose

description of England in the sixteenth century is of great interest and importance.

Hoveden, Roger de (d. *circa* 1201), was probably a native of Howden in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and was employed in the service of Henry II. in 1174. His *Chronicle* is especially valuable for the period 1192-1201, which was Hoveden's own work. It is enriched with an abundance of documents.

Huntingdon, Henry of (d. *circa* 1154) was brought up by Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln, and eventually became Archdeacon of Huntingdon. He wrote a *History of the English*, which goes down to the reign of Stephen. In this work he incorporated a number of popular songs and stories, taken from earlier works.

Icelandic Sagas—a collection of heroic tales of the early vikings.

Malmesbury, William of (d. 1143 ?), was born in Somerset and became librarian of the monastery at Malmesbury. He is one of the greatest of our medieval chroniclers, and his *History of the English Kings*, which extends from 449 to 1128, followed by his *Modern History* (1126-1142), gives us "more information relating to manners and customs than is perhaps to be gathered from all those who proceded him" (Hardy).

Paris, Matthew (d. *circa* 1259), was a Benedictine monk of the abbey of St Albans. He was a man of great accomplishments, a diplomat, mathematician, poet, and theologian, and is especially notable as an historian. His *Chronica Majora*, by its fulness and its accuracy, is the authority for the first half of the thirteenth century, and raises its author to the foremost place amongst medieval historians.

Stephen, Acts of, was in all probability written by one of Stephen's own clerks, and is a spirited vindication of Stephen. It is especially valuable for its graphic description of the incidents of the Civil War and its vivid picture of the anarchy and suffering then prevailing.

Stow, John (1525-1605), a London tailor, who forsook tailoring for antiquarian research and historical study. He wrote a *Summary of the Chronicles of England*, *Annals of England*, and *A Survey of London*, and assisted Holinshed with his great historical work. He died in great poverty after James I. had given him a patent authorising him to beg.

Strabo, born in Pontus probably in 64 B.C. and of Greek descent. He seems to have spent his time in travel and study, and died sometime after A.D. 21. His *History* has come down to us only in fragments, but his

Geography in seventeen books is practically complete and is especially valuable in those sections where he draws upon his own power of observation to describe the places he visited.

Tacitus, Gaius Cornelius, a Roman historian born about A.D. 51. He was the son-in-law of Julius Agricola, Roman Governor of Britain during the years A.D. 78-84. His chief works are a biography of *Agricola*, a monograph on *Germania*, a *History*, and *Annals*. He died about A.D. 130.

Warwick, Guy of, the hero of an Early English metrical romance, possibly the work of a thirteenth century Franciscan monk, with improvements by a Norman minstrel.

Wendover, Roger of (d. 1236), was a monk of St Albans, and is credited as the author of *Flores Historiarum*, which deals with the history of the world from the Creation to 1235, and for the last thirty-five years is a valuable authority.

Westminster, Matthew of, is "an entirely imaginary person." The work which is ascribed to him was written by various persons at various times. The earlier portion is based on the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, and the oldest manuscript at one time belonged to Westminster Abbey; in this way the two names were combined and the fictitious Matthew of Westminster was spoken of as the author. (Gross.)

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Morgan, R.B. (ed)
Readings in English social
histosy. 1921

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